

MEMOIRS

OF THE REMARKABLE

PROSPERITY OF THE *Nobility Transactions*

FROM THE YEAR 1683 to 1718.

CONTAINING

A very particular ACCOUNT of
the most Eminent, Eminent &c.

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Military Transactions

From the Year 1683 to 1718

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A very particular Account of
the several BATTLES, SIEGES &c.

IN
Ireland and Flanders,

During the REIGN of

K. WILLIAM and Q. ANNE.



By Captain R. O'NEILL, F.R.S.
Lieut. of the Royal Regiment of Foot
Guards, who was an Eye-witness to most of them.

Published by his Son.

DUBLIN.

Printed, and sold by G. and A. E. Wing,
Booksellers in Down Street.

MDCCLXVI.

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great Deliverer King WILLIAM) to stop him in his career. Notwithstanding which he kept all *Europe* in a continual ferment during his long and bloody reign; and by his intrigues at the court of *London* managed matters so artfully, that he always had a party within our own bowels, ready to espouse his interest on all occasions; and laid the foundation of those feuds and divisions among us, which have contributed in a great measure to raise *France* to that height of grandeur, to which it has arrived at this day.

At my first setting out in the world, a scene began to open, which seemed to promise very considerable events. From that time therefore I determined to enter down the most remarkable occurrences as they happened, as well as the various scenes and hazards through which I should pass; and this purely for my own use and amusement, and without any view of reducing them to the form in which they now appear: until after much importunity I was prevailed on to undertake it, by a Gentleman, who happened to see the notes I had taken. Yet I never had any notion of making them publick; being conscious to my self, that I was not capable of putting them in a proper dress to be seen by any, but my particular friends; and well knowing that I should be censured by many, for leaning altogether to that side of the question, which (for my life, I could not help thinking) acted most for the true interest of their country.

My father, who lived on a concern of his near *Kilkenny*, kept me at school in that town, till I was fifteen. The old Duke of *Ormond* was then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and here it was that he resided for the most part, and had with him the late unfortunate Duke his grandson. He being a youth of a military disposition, had enlisted a company of the protestant school-boys, among whom I was one; these he armed with wooden guns, and took great

great delight in marching and exercising them before the Duke and Dutchess. From this trifling circumstance, I was induced to entertain a high opinion of a military life, and was determined to take the first opportunity of entering into the service in any shape. And this was not my case only; I afterwards knew above thirty of these young Gentlemen, who bore commissions in the army, and some of them became Colonels, and General Officers.

It now appeared very plain, that little was to be expected from me in the way of learning; the next design was, to bring me up to country business; but it would not do, my head was turned quite another way. And some time after, having pretended to be disoblged at some treatment I had met with at home; I immediately went off to town, applied my self to Captain *Frederick Hamilton*, (who then commanded an independent company there) and desired he would accept of me to carry arms in his company. The Captain took a liking to me at once, and insisted me, though I was but a stripling, not above seventeen; and indeed he proved afterward the best friend I ever met with. In the month of *October* 1683, I commenced soldier in his Company; and thus did my inclinations lead me early into that way of life, which I had a full share of afterward.

The army of *Ireland* at this time consisted of 1683. single independent Troops and Companies, the Royal Regiment excepted; which did duty on the Government in *Dublin*. In the month of *April* this year, King *Charles* the second caused all these independent Troops and Companies to be incorporated into Regiments. They made up three intire regiments of horse, and eight of foot, including the Royal Regiment; and were computed to be 8000 men. Captain *Hamilton's* company being put into Lord *Montjoy's* regiment, was ordered to march to *Charlemont* in the North.

1684.

In *February* following King *Charles* dyed, not without suspicion of foul play. His brother the Duke of *York* succeeded him, and was no sooner seated on the throne, than he professed himself of the *Romish* religion. There had been a violent suspicion before that he leaned that way, though it had been a crime to have said so much : however, his daring to declare his religion, shewed him to be a man of more resolution than his brother ; for if *Charles* had any religion, he was a *Papist*, though he was always afraid or ashamed to own it.

Upon *Monmouth's* landing in the West of *England*, and *Argyle* in *Scotland*, some troops were ordered from *Ireland* to *Chester*, to keep matters quiet in those parts : but on the defeat of these Gentlemen, they returned again.

1685.

The King, having easily conquered these difficulties, thought there was not any thing now that could oppose him in his designs : however to make every thing sure, he entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with the *French* King ; and at the same time gave out Commissions for raising eleven Regiments of foot, and four of horse and dragoons. Among these great numbers of *Papists* were admitted, who were exempted from taking the oaths and test required by Act of Parliament. And when the house of Commons addressed the King on that head, he was incensed at it to that degree, that he soon prorogued them ; and not long after he finally dissolved the Parliament, with a resolution never to call another. After this he taxed the nation, and levied money according to his own arbitrary will ; not considering that that very thing had been the ruin of his father.

1686.

The King had now all power in his own hands. He had also a good army to support him, and the *French* King to assist him ; and being resolved to follow his example in bringing his whole dominions under the *Romish* yoke, he made his first es-

say

say in *Ireland*. In order to which, he sent thither this year Colonel *Talbot*, an inveterate *Papist*, with a Commission (independent of the Earl of *Clarendon* then Lord Lieutenant) for modelling the army as he should see fit. Soon after his arrival, he turned out all the Officers and Soldiers that had served under *Cromwel*, putting none but *Irish Papists* in the room of them; and then returned to give the King an account of what he had done. 1686.

What *Talbot* had done the last year in *Ireland*, was only to pave the way for what followed; for this year the Lord *Clarendon* was recalled, and *Talbot*, being created Earl, and soon after Duke of *Tyrconnel*, was sent over Lord Lieutenant. As he had now the sole management of the kingdom in his own hands, and as there was no Parliament to controul him, he resolved to do the business he was sent upon with all possible dispatch. Whereupon he ordered the army to assemble on the Curragh of *Kildare*; there he made a strict review of every particular Troop and Company, and as soon as we had returned to quarters, the *Protestant* Officers and Soldiers were cashiered, a few only excepted, who were kept in for a while, to countenance the matter. Captain *Hamilton*, his Lieutenant and Ensign were broke at this time; and were succeeded by Captain *Nugent*, Lieutenant *Wogan*, and Ensign *Geogbagan*. These soon came to the Company with a parcel of *Raps* at their heels, and immediately turned out all the *Protestants*, except two or three, whom they reserved to discipline their recruits. Soon after this, *Tyrconnel* having raised several Regiments of horse, foot, and dragoons, had ordered, that all *Protestants* should deliver up their arms; and then he went to work with the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil* powers. He ordered one Captain *O'Neil* with his Company of Grenadiers to march to the College of *Dublin*, and turn out the Provost, Fellows and Scholars; which being

1687. being done, he made it a seminary of *Priests* and *Friars*. In short, he turned the *Protestants* out of all employments, took from them most of their churches, and put the whole kingdom into the hands of *Papists*. These were now grown so intolerably insolent, that we dreaded the fatal scene, of *Forty-one*, might be repeated; and this made great numbers fly the kingdom. Thus *Tyrconnel* effectually performed the King's pleasure in *Ireland*: while his Majesty was at the same work in *England*, but not with equal success.

Upon my being disbanded, I returned home to my father, who a little before had been much abused and plundered by a parcel of dragoons, that were tolerated in marauding the *Protestants* in the country. This distressed the old man and my mother to the last degree; insomuch, that soon after they both died in one day, and were carried to the grave together, leaving three sons, of whom I was the second. My brother gave me a sum of money for my proportion of my father's effects; which I received with joy, as it gave me an opportunity of quitting the kingdom. Hereupon I resolved to make the best of my way to *Holland*, and seek my fortune under the Prince of *Orange*; for at this time he was making preparations for some grand expedition, the destination of which was kept very secret.

1688. Accordingly in the month of *September*, I set out for *Waterford*, where I embarked. I landed at *Bristol*, and from thence went directly to *London*, in my way to *Holland*. But by the time I got thither, it was publickly known that the Prince of *Orange's* preparations were design'd for *England*; for by this time, the King had intirely overturned the *Constitution* of the three kingdoms, and made his *Will* his *Law*. To this he was hurried on by his *Italian* Queen, and the swarms of *Priests* and *Jesuits* that crouded about him.

I forgot

I forgot to touch on the birth of their *pretended* 1688. *Prince of Wales*; for something of that sort, they saw was wanting to perfect their scheme. The King was well advanced in years, and hitherto had had no children by his Queen, but such as died soon after they were born; and all they had done would signify nothing, unless they had an heir to support their *Babel*. Whereupon a Prince was produced: But after such a manner, and at so critical a juncture, as gave the Nation great reason to suspect, that all was not fair. For they that ought to have been present at the Queen's delivery, were at that time sent out of the way. The *Bishops* were prisoners in the Tower; *Princess Ann* had been ordered to *Bath* for her health, contrary to the opinion of her Physicians; the *Protestant* Lords were in a manner banished the Court, except such as went entirely into all his Majesty's measures. In short there were none but the Queen's creatures about her; and this opportunity they took for ushering in their pretended *Prince of Wales*.

Another thing which gave great offence to the *Protestants* in general, but more especially to those of the *Church of England*, was the establishing a *High Commission Court*, for inspecting into *Ecclesiastical Affairs*. Before this Court the *Bishops* and *Clergy* were summoned to answer for every thing they said against *Papery*, either in their Pulpits or elsewhere. These were the measures King *James* took for establishing *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power*; nor were there wanting *false Brethren* among the *Protestants* both in *Church* and *State*, that went into all his Majesty's measures.

Now the true *Patriots* of the Nation, seeing their *Religion*, their *Laws*, their *Liberty*, and every thing that was dear to them brought to this pass, were at a loss for a time, what to do. To sit still and suffer things to go on at the rate they had, was intailing *Papery* and *Slavery* on themselves and their

1688. Posterity: And to resist, even as the case then stood, was *damnation* according to the doctrine of the late Reign. In the end they resolved to venture the one, rather than suffer the other to be intailed on them. Whereupon most of the Nobility, in behalf of the whole Nation, addressed themselves to the *Prince of Orange*, praying him to come over to their assistance, and prevent not only *Great Britain*, but also all *Europe*, from being enslaved by the joint Powers of *England* and *France*, who had entered into an alliance for that purpose. This put that brave Prince upon making the necessary Preparations; and the *States-General*, who plainly saw that their turn was to be the next, assisted him heartily in that great undertaking.

Things being in this unsettled way, I thought it best to continue in *London*, until I saw what turn our affairs should take.

For now the *King*, being thoroughly apprised of the *Prince of Orange's* design, had taken all proper measures to oppose him. He sent to *Tyrconnel* for five Regiments of Foot, and one of Dragoons; and also to *Scotland* for as many troops as could be spared from thence. He ordered the Lord *Dartmouth* to get the fleet in readiness to put to sea; and as it was not known what part of the kingdom the *Prince* designed for, the fleet was ordered to rendezvous near the mouth of the *Thames*, there to be in readiness to follow the *Prince* whatever way he took. But the wind which brought the *Prince* out, kept him in harbour, until he had passed the *Downs*; at which time Lord *Dartmouth* got out with the fleet, and crowded all the sail he could after him: But the *Prince* had got so far a-head of him, that he landed at *Torbay* before the Lord *Dartmouth* could get sight of him. It was very remarkable, that in less than two hours after the Troops and Stores were landed, the wind shifted to the West, and blew a rank storm, which took

Lord

Lord *Dartmouth* off the Isle of *Wight*, and obliged him to put into *Portsmouth*, with his fleet, very much shattered. So visible was the hand of *Providence* in this whole affair ! 1688.

As soon as the King had an account that the Prince was landed in the West, he ordered his Army, which was computed to be more than 30,000, to draw together to *Salisbury* plain ; and when it was assembled, his Majesty came down to head them : But he had not been long there, when he found a great defection among them. Several leading men had gone over to the Prince ; some had taken their whole Corps with them, and the *Protestants* had declared publickly, that they would not fight against the Prince.

The King, who had placed his greatest confidence in his Army, was strangely cast down upon their falling off from him. And being conscious to himself of what he had done, he returned in haste to *London*, leaving orders with the Earl of *Feverham*, his Chief General, to disband the Army. Immediately on his arrival at *London*, he sent away the Queen with her *Sham* Prince to *Portsmouth*, from whence they sailed to *France* ; and soon after, he followed them with all his *Papist* Train.

Now this being a short narrative of the conduct of King *James* the Second, during the four years he sat on the *British* Throne, I shall only observe upon it, that it is very surprizing to see some men, that call themselves *Protestants*, so very earnest to bring back his pretended Son ; who they know has been educated under the very eye of the *Pope*.

Here it is to be observed to the honour of the Army, that it was they in a great measure, who saved the Nation at this juncture. They seeing their Religion, Laws and Liberties at Stake, refused to fight for their King, because he had overturned the Constitution ; and declared in favour of the

1688. the Prince, who came to restore it, else it had not been possible for him, with the handful of men he brought over, (not full 14000) to have compleated our late glorious *Revolution*; the consequences of which, not *Great Britain* only in particular, but also *Europe* in general is very sensible of at this day.

Upon the King's leaving *Salisbury*, the Prince advanced; and gave orders to all the *Protestant* Commanders, to keep the Protestants by their colours, and disband the *Roman Catholicks*, which was punctually observed. These last dispersed themselves throughout the kingdom, the greater part of them however were confined, until the Nation was a little settled.

When the Prince came to *London*, a *Convention* of the Lords and Commons was summoned, and met at *Westminster*; where, after some warm debates, they voted that King *James* had abdicated the Crown, that thereby the Throne was become vacant, and that the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, should succeed to the Crown. Accordingly on the thirteenth of *February* they were proclaimed King and Queen of *England, Scotland, &c.*

During these transactions I continued in *London*, very inquisitive how matters went. Soon after the King and Queen were proclaimed, I found that preparations were making for the reduction of *Ireland*; and I resolved to push my self into that service. With this view I often walked the Park, to try if I could meet any one from that kingdom. Here I had the good fortune to meet my old Captain *Frederick Hamilton*; he received me with great civility, asked me whether I had disposed of my self, told me that, two days before, he had received a Commission to be Major to the Earl of *Meath's* Regiment of Foot, and if I would enlist under him once more, I might depend on his friendship. I thanked him, and readily accepted his offer; in two

days

days I set out for *Chester*, where the Regiment then lay, and arrived there in *April*.

I was now just turned of twenty three, of a strong healthy constitution, and saw nothing before me but a scene of war. I then began to reflect on the circumstances of life I was in, and that carrying a brown Musket was but a melancholy prospect, yet, however as there was no remedy, I resolved to go through what I had undertaken with cheerfulness and patience. From my first setting out I had determined to be very circumspect in my behaviour, by which I gained the esteem of my Major, and most of the Officers of the Regiment. I applied myself diligently to the use of Arms, and soon became expert in it; and as the War was likely to continue, and as there must be a great variety of action, I determined for my own amusement to keep a *Journal*, and make the best remarks I could on what might happen. What has been already mentioned, I entered down upon memory; the next thing I went upon, was to trace the Regiment from its original, which was as follows.

This is one of the Regiments that had been formed out of the old independent Companies in *Ireland*, by order of King *Charles* the Second. The Earl of *Granard* was the first Colonel, and he resigned it to his Son the Lord *Forbes*, upon *Tyrconnel's* going over to that Kingdom. *Forbes* being a young man of much heat and spirit, was continually jarring with the *Popish* Officers. This without doubt was by no means agreeable to *Tyrconnel*; and yet as little as he liked him, it was remarkable that he did not care to disoblige him (perhaps on account of the preparations which the Prince of *Orange* was making,) hence it was that Lord *Forbes* kept more Protestants in his Regiment, than were in the whole *Irish* Army beside; and yet they were not quite 200, Officers included. When King *James* sent for the *Irish* Regiments, *Tyrconnel* ordered this over for one, and when

1689. when the King left *Salisbury*, all the *Irish* Regiments disbanded except this. Lord *Forbes* being the only Colonel among them, that neglected Lord *Fever-sham's* orders; and at the same time punctually obeyed those of the Prince, by disbanding the *Papists*, and keeping the *Protestants* by their Colours. This being done, he marched them to *Brentford*, where he left them in Quarters, and went next day to *Windsor* to wait on the Prince, who received him with great respect, and approved of what he had done.

The very next day a most unaccountable rumour prevailed through the whole kingdom, that all the *Irish* Soldiers had got together, burning and destroying all before them; and this alarm had so wonderful an effect, that not a Town or Village but had an account, that the very next Town or Village was in flames. In short, it had prevailed so far, that the *Trained Bands* of *London* were all under Arms, guarding the Streets and Avenues leading to the City.

Upon this alarm the country people came down in great numbers to be revenged on the *Irish* Regiment at *Brentford*, for the depredations their countrymen were making all over the Kingdom. Sir *John Edgworth*, our Major, was commanding Officer, (for Lord *Brittas*, our Lieutenant Colonel, being a *Papist*, had fled,) he ordered the Regiment to their arms immediately, and drew them with all the dispatch he could, within the Walls of Lord *Oslinton's* Court-yard. From thence he expostulated with the populace, but all to no purpose; they would have revenge. At last perceiving two Gentlemen among the crowd, he called them to him, and assured them his men were not *Irish Papists*, as they imagined, but *Protestants*, and descended from *Englishmen*, though born in *Ireland*; and to convince them that they were all true *Church of England-men*, he desired they would send for the

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1689..

Parson of the Parish to read Prayers to them. The Parson was sent for, and to Prayers they went. The Soldiers had most of them their Common Prayer-books about them, and (whether it was out of fear or devotion) they answered the responsals of the Church so distinctly, and behaved with so much decency, that it surprized both the Parson and the Gentlemen. Whereupon they returned to the crowd, who gave us a *Huzza*; cried, *the Prince of Orange for ever*, and away they went.

Soon after the regiment marched to *Hatfield*, and had orders to recruit. Lord *Forbes* was believed at this time to be as zealous for the *Revolution* as any man: But falling into company with the Earl of *Arran*, (afterwards Duke *Hamilton*) and others of the *Jacobite Party*; they perswaded him King *James* would soon be restored; whereupon he waited upon the Prince, and threw up his Commission. Upon this the Regiment was given to Sir *John Edgworth*, but he being in too much haste to grow rich, had bought up the cast Cloaths of the Soldiers that had been disbanded at *Salisbury*, in order to cloath his Regiment; these he sent off to *Chester*, where the Regiment was quartered. The matter however, was not so secretly managed, but that the King came to the knowledge of it; upon which he sent two Gentlemen to examine the cloathing, and they found them to be as it had been represented. Whereupon Sir *John* was broke, as he well deserved; several other officers also shared the same fate; particularly his two sons, one a Lieutenant-colonel, the other a Captain. The Regiment was then given to the Earl of *Meath*, Mr. *Newcomen* was made Lieutenant-colonel, and *Frederick Hamilton* Major. Thus far have I traced the Regiment from the report of others: and from this time shall carry it on from my own knowledge.

All things being in readiness for the reduction of *Ireland*, the Troops designed for that service drew

1689.

drew in and about *Chester*. On the twelfth of *August*, they embarked at *Higblake*, under the command of old Duke *Schomberg*, and landed at *Bangor* near *Carrickfergus*. The whole kingdom at this time was in the hands of King *James*, except *Londonderry* and *Inniskilling*. To these two places, the Protestants of these parts fled, and held them out against King *James* and his army, even to a miracle. This prevented him from passing over into *Scotland*, as he intended with a body of between seven and eight thousand foot, whom he brought with him from *France*; and upon our landing, these were obliged to draw off from those places, in order to make head against us.

The Duke laid siege to *Carrickfergus*, in which was a garrison of 3000 men, commanded by *McCarthy More*; but he soon surrendered the town to us, with little loss on either side, and had honourable terms granted him. The Duke having made *Carrickfergus* a place of Arms, advanced towards *Newry*, where a party of the enemy had assembled: but on our approach, they set fire to the town, and retired over the mountains to *Dundalk*; whereupon the Duke the next day passed the mountains, and advanced to *Dundalk*: but the enemy on our approach, quitted this place also, and retired to *Athberdee*, where by this time they had got together the greatest part of their army.

It was on the 9th of *September* we pitched our camp at *Dundalk*; and the Duke finding it to be a strong situation, with a commodious haven for shipping, whereby he might be supplied with all necessaries from *England*; and knowing that the enemy were already more than double his number; he resolved not to advance farther, but to maintain this post the remaining part of the campaign. Whereupon he set all hands to work, first in fortifying that part of the town, which was most exposed to the enemy; and next in throwing a strong intrenchment from the river up to the mountains, this being

ing the only place the enemy could attack us in. This intrenchment secured our camp on the right; the town and the river secured us in front: our left was secured by the sea, and our rear by the *Newry* mountains. By these mountains also we had a communication with the *North*, from whence we were supplied with plenty of fresh provisions; and by this means those parts were secured for our Winter Quarters. And now having secured his camp on all sides, he gave orders for the army to hut: on which the *Dutch* and *French* regiments soon built them good warm Barracks, which preserved them from the wet weather that came on immediately: but the *English* being raw soldiers, neglected the Duke's orders, till it was too late to provide either Timber or Straw. This occasioned the death of numbers of our men, in the wet season that soon came on.

About eight days after we came to this ground, we were joined by Major General *Kirk*, with two regiments of foot, whom he had brought from *England*, for the relief of *Londonderry*; and also by about 1000 horse and foot from *Inniskilling*. These compleated our army 15000. Here follows the *List* of them.

Devonshire,
Coy,

} Horse.

Delamere,
Schomberg, (French)
Levison,

} Dragoons.

Kirk,
Meath,
Beaumont,
Stuart,
Hammer,
Wharton,
Earl,
Norfolk,

} British Foot.

Drogheda,

1689.

<i>Drogheda,</i>	}	<i>British Foot.</i>
<i>Lisburn,</i>		
<i>Roscommon,</i>		
<i>Lovelace,</i>		
<i>Kingston,</i>		
<i>Herbert,</i>	}	<i>Dutch Foot,</i>
<i>Deering,</i>		
<i>Inniskilling,</i>		
<i>Blew Guards,</i>	}	<i>French Foot.</i>
<i>Carlsron,</i>		
<i>Gowr,</i>		
<i>Lamulanier,</i>	}	<i>French Foot.</i>
<i>Cambroon,</i>		
<i>Calimot,</i>		

By this time King *James* had got all his army together at *Atherdee*, eight miles from us, and it was computed to be near 35000. He finding the Duke had fixed himself at *Dundalk*, marched at the head of his army on the 26th of *September*, and drew up in order of battle on a rising ground, about a small mile from the works of the town. Whether he designed to attack us in our works, or expected the Duke would draw out to fight him, I can't say: but we kept close within our works; and when he had staid about an hour and half, he marched back to his camp.

Soon after this, a design was formed to betray our camp to the enemy. We had three regiments of foot and one of horse composed of *French Refugees*. These were all supposed to be *Protestants*: several *Papists* however had crept in among them, and one in particular, who had been a Captain in the *French* service, but was obliged to fly his country, having killed an Officer in a duel. He being a bold enterprizing man had formed a scheme for betraying our camp, and found means to commu-

nicate

nicate it to Count d'Avauz, the *French* Ambassador who attended King *James*. We could not be attacked on any side (as has been already related) except on the intrenchment that extended from the river to the mountain. This intrenchment was mounted every evening with 500 men; in the morning they drew off, and this was done by brigades. Now this man had brought all the concealed *Papists* in the three *French* regiments into his scheme; and by changing their duty had contrived matters so, that when the *French* brigade was to mount guard, most if not all the *Papists* were to be on that duty. Of this he was to give timely notice to the enemy, that they might march up to the intrenchment by break of day. The scheme appeared so feasible to King *James* and his Generals, that they encouraged him to go on with it, and promised him a *pardon*, in case he succeeded: But some of the *Protestants* having had a hint of the thing, discovered it instantly. So the Captain with four of the ring-leaders, were hanged at the head of the *French* regiments, and above 200 of them were sent prisoners to *England*: Thus was our small army providentially preserved, but a few days before the scheme was to have been put in execution. Had it succeeded, it would have given a great turn to King *James's* affairs: But being disappointed therein, he soon decamped, and sent his troops into quarters.

In two days after, being on the 9th of *November*, our army drew off from *Dundalk*, and marched back to the North: The Duke taking up his quarters at *Lisburn*, where our regiment (as being the strongest of all the *English*) did duty on him.

While we lay at *Dundalk* the weather proved very rainy, the ground we encamped on was also moist in itself, and through our own neglect we were ill hutted. By this means a violent lax broke in among us, which swept away numbers, especially

1689. of the *English*: Infomuch, that soon after we came to quarters, we computed we had lost more than three fourths of them. Some regiments had not above sixty men, Officers included; so these were broke, and incorporated into others.

Duke *Schomberg* was much censured by those that knew little of the matter, that he had not advanced and fought the enemy, while his men were in heart, and they in a consternation: Or, that he had not drawn off from *Dundalk*, and retired to the North, when he found bad weather coming on. But these Gentlemen knew not the difficulties the Duke had to contend with. To have given the enemy battle, before he had been joined by *Kirk's* two regiments and the *Iniskilliners*, must in all probability have been of fatal consequence, as the enemy were near treble our number, and were also posted to advantage; nay, this was what the enemy wanted, as appeared by their marching down to give us battle; and was it not in hopes of drawing us to a battle, they never had suffered us to pass the mountains. Had he retired to the North, before the enemy had broke up, he had run a risque of having the rear of his army, at least, cut to pieces; and as to the rest, he could not have chose a more advantageous post, than the ground he encamped on. Upon the whole, it was not possible for that great General to have done more than he did. He obliged the enemy to quit all the Northern parts, and secured them for winter quarters for his own troops; and this was all that was expected from him when he left *England*.

1690. In the beginning of *June* King *William* landed near *Belfast*, accompanied by Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and several other persons of distinction; and soon after he ordered the army to assemble on the other side of *Dundalk*, where he reviewed them, and found them something more than 30,000. King *James* at the same time assembled

assembled his army on the banks of the *Boyne*, and it was computed to be some small matter more than ours.

On the 29th of *June* we advanced to *Aiberdee*, and on the thirtieth marched up to the enemy, and incamped within cannon-shot of them. They were drawn up in good order, and to great advantage, on the other side the *Boyne*, and seemed resolved to dispute the passage of the river with us. There was a rising ground on our side, which over-looked their whole situation; to this place they concluded the King would come to make his observations: Whereupon they planted four field-pieces in a place proper for their purpose, under covert of some bushes, which prevented them from being discovered. The King came this evening to the very spot they expected, and had not been long there when they fired their four field-pieces at him; one of the balls grazed on his shoulder, tore his clothes, and raised a contusion in his skin: But he soon had it dressed, and shewed himself to the army. However the enemy observing some confusion in those about the King, concluded he was killed; and this news soon flew to *Dublin*, and from thence to *Paris*, where they had publick rejoicings for it.

Upon the King's taking a view of the enemy, he observed that they were strongly posted and drawn up to great advantage; and saw plainly it would be a difficult matter to force them from their ground, unless some measures were taken before the battle began, which might oblige them to break the order they were drawn up in. Upon this a council of war was held, in which it was resolved that Lieutenant-General *Douglas* should march by break of day, with about 8000 men to the ford of *Slane*, two miles up the river, in order to pass there, and fall on the left flank of the enemy,

1690. enemy, while the King with the main of the army charged them in front.

Early next morning, being the first of *July*, both armies were drawn up in order of battle, and General *Douglas* marched off with his detachment. The enemy perceiving this, ordered off the greatest part of their left wing to oppose *Douglas*; and they were put into no small confusion, in drawing troops from other parts, in order to make good their left, which they had weakened. This answered the King's expectation, who perceiving the disorder they were in, ordered the army to pass the river. The front line was over before the enemy had recovered their disorder, and the King soon passed over and put himself at the head of them. The enemy being now prepared, charged our first line, and broke through some of them: And some of ours in their turn obliged some of theirs to scamper off. By this time our whole army having passed the river, we charged each other alternately with various success: But the engagement did not last long, for they soon took to their heels, even before *Douglas* could come up to engage those that were sent against him, notwithstanding he had passed the ford, before the King began the battle.

I have met with several accounts of this battle, some of them very particular in reciting all the charges and repulses that had been made on both sides, as if it had lasted the greatest part of the day, and the field had been covered with the slain: But after all, the enemy made but a poor fight of it, as may appear by the loss on both sides. The enemy had not quite 800 killed, and about as many taken: And we not above 500 killed, and as many wounded. Our greatest loss was the brave Duke *Schomberg*. He had been disgusted, because something that he had proposed, in the council of war, had been rejected; and therefore did not pass the river until he saw Colonel *Calimot* brought off desperately

desperately wounded, and the *French* foot whom he headed put into great disorder; upon this he rode over to rally them, as they were pressed upon by King *James's* guards. In this hurry he was killed, some said by his own men, as they fired on the enemy, and some said otherwise: But that which passed current in the army that day, and indeed seems most probable was, that he was shot by a trooper, that had deserted from his own regiment about a year before, and was then in King *James's* guards. He fell in the 84th year of his age.

King *James* being resolved to save one, had posted himself on a rising ground in the rear of his army; and upon seeing our troops pass the river, was the first man that fled. He arrived in *Dublin* that night, where he stayed but a few hours, and set out in haste for *Duncannon* fort. There he embarked on board a ship, that had been ordered to wait for that purpose, and sailed for *France*. This does not answer the character that was given of his behaviour, at the battle of the *Downs*, and near *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*; where it was said the Duke of *York* did wonders.

But the brave King *William* acted a quite different part. He led on his army in person, and was in all places, where his presence was necessary; the Prince of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Ormond* keeping close by him, wherever he went.

Our army halted at *Duleek*, and marched the next day towards *Dublin*. *Drogheda* surrendered the same day.

The *Irish* army marched after a scattering manner toward the river *Shannon*. Lieutenant-General *Sarsfield* rallied a good many of them at *Athlone*; the rest hastened to *Limerick*. Count *Lauzun* who commanded the *French* troops, retreated with them in a body, and passing the *Shannon* at *Athlone*, he continued his march to *Galway*. Here finding that King *James* had left the kingdom, and that the *Irish*

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troops were in a poor condition, he sent to *France* for shipping to carry him and his men home ; and these were accordingly sent him. The *Irish* however though they were abandoned both by their King and the *French* troops, yet still persisted in carrying on the war ; depending to the last on the promise of their King, that he would send them other troops, and all manner of necessaries very speedily.

Our army continued their march to *Finglas* near *Dublin*, where we halted some days, while the King was settling the affairs of government. This being done, he sent part of the army under Lieutenant-General *Douglas* toward *Athlone* ; while he marched with the other part toward *Limerick*. In his way thither he halted at *Carrick on Sure*, from whence he sent Major-General *Kirk* to take in *Waterford* and *Duncannon* fort. These surrendered on the first summons ; whereupon the King proceeded in his march to *Limerick*. General *Douglas* on his coming to *Athlone*, found that post taken up by Lieutenant-General *Sarsfield* ; upon which he turned off to the left, and joined the King the day before he reached *Limerick*. *Sarsfield* leaving a sufficient garison at *Athlone*, marched with the remaining part of his forces, and joined those in *Limerick*.

It was the first of *August*, when the King sat down before *Limerick* ; and finding that the enemy had taken up the ground on the other side the *Shannon*, and that it was a difficult matter to dislodge them, he resolved to carry on the siege against that part of the town, which lay on our side of the river. We carried on our approaches to the foot of the glacis, and took an advanced fort in our way, and so proceeded to raise our batteries, and have them in readiness, at such time as our battering train should arrive, which was then on the road from *Kilkenny*. But the enemy

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my having had a particular account of their rout, detached *Sarsfield* with a good body of Horse and Dragoons to intercept it; and he passing the *Shannon* at *Killaloe*, came up with the train in the night between the 11th and 12th of *August*, as they lay incamped at *Cullen*, about eleven miles from our camp; and falling suddenly on them when all were asleep, they burned and destroyed every thing that could be of any use to us. They burst the cannon by over-loading them, and putting their muzzles in ground, then setting fire to them, they went off without the loss of a man. This was certainly a well-conducted affair, and much to *Sarsfield's* honour, had there not been so much cruelty in the execution of it; for they put man, woman, and child to the sword, though there was not the least opposition made. However, we cannot suppose that so gallant a man as *Sarsfield* certainly was, could be guilty of giving such orders; it is rather to be presumed, that at such a juncture it was not in his power to restrain the natural barbarity of his men.

The King had some information of *Sarsfield's* going abroad; and, suspecting that his design was on the train, had ordered Count *Solms* to send away forthwith a good body of Horse to join the train, by the time they should reach *Cullen*. Upon which the Count, who commanded immediately under the King, ordered Sir *John Lanier* to march with a body of Horse on that service: But whether the Count delivered his orders with that pressing instance which the affair required, or whether Sir *John* mistook the Count, as he pretended; so it was that he did not set out till four hours after he had received his orders. And as it was, had he pursued his march as expeditiously as he ought, he might have saved the train: But he spent his time in making unnecessary halts, till he saw the flash in the air, and heard the bursting of the cannon;

1690. then indeed he hastened his march ; but before he came up, *Sarsfield* had done the work, and was gone. Sir *John* was shrewdly suspected of treachery in this affair, and the more as he had been once a great favourite of King *James's*.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate accident, the King having ordered a few cannon from *Waterford*, pushed on the siege with them, and the field train. With these we beat down one of the towers, and made a breach in the wall close by it, large enough to be stormed : And as we had carried our approaches to the foot of the glacis, the King ordered a general assault to be made on the 27th by half the Grenadiers of the army, and seven battalions, our regiment being one. The Lord *Cutts* led on the Grenadiers, who instead of mounting the breach, pursued the enemy that were in the covert-way, and made towards St. *John's* gate, thinking to have entered with them : But the gate being kept close shut, they and the battalions that followed them, were stopped there ; so the breach was neglected, and the affair miscarried. It was thought we lost more men in this attack, than we should, had we mounted the breach, and taken that part of the town.

Our regiment on this occasion, had our Lieutenant-Colonel, one Captain, and four Subalterns killed : One Captain, and seven Subalterns wounded ; and about 100 private men killed and wounded. Major *Hamilton* was made Lieutenant-Colonel on this occasion.

His Majesty meeting with these disappointments at *Limerick*, broke up the siege, and drew off the army on the 30th, and the day after went to *Waterford*, where he embarked for *England* the day following. He left the command of the army to Count *Solms*, but he soon followed the King, on which Lieutenant-General *Ginkle* was appointed to command. Two days after the King parted from the

the army, the Duke of *Wurtemberg* and Major-General *Scravenmore*, were ordered to march to *Cork* with the *Danish* and *Dutch* forces, where the Earl of *Marlborough* was arrived with some troops from *England*, for the reduction of that place and *Kinsale*. The remaining part of our army was disposed so as to form a frontier against the *Shannon*, that river being the frontier of the enemy. Our regiment, with six others and a detachment of Horse, was posted at *Mullingar*, under the command of Colonel *Brewer*.

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About the middle of *May*, General *Ginkle* assembled the army near *Mullingar*, which was computed to be about 23000. The *Irish* army was assembling at the same time on the other side the *Shannon* near *Atblone*, and was esteemed to be much about our number. These were commanded by Lieutenant-General *St. Ruth*; who being an old experienced Officer, was sent over the last winter, by the approbation of King *James*. He brought with him a small matter of money, and a great many fine promises; but no men, which yet their King had faithfully promised them.

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From *Mullingar* we marched to *Ballymore*, about midway to *Atblone*, it being situated on an island in a lough. This place the enemy had fortified, and had posted about 1000 men in it: But we took it in six days, and made them prisoners of war. Here the miserable effects of war appeared in a very melancholy manner; for the enemy to prevent a famine among themselves, had drove all useless mouths from among them the last winter, to our side of the *Shannon*: And we, for the same reason would not suffer them to come within our frontiers; so between both, they lay in a miserable starving condition. These wretches came flocking in great numbers about our camp, devouring all the filth they could meet with. Our dead horses crawling with vermin, as the sun had parched them,

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1691. were delicious food to them ; while their infants sucked those carcases, with as much eagerness, as if they were at their mothers breasts.

From hence we marched to *Atblone*, the *Shannon* dividing this town as it does *Limerick*. We took the hither town by storm, the third day after we came before it ; and the same night threw up an intrenchment along the river side, beginning above the bridge, and carrying it on, below the works of the other town. In this work I received a favourable shot on the crown of my head ; the ball only grazed on a good thick skull, and went off.

The enemy's whole dependence was on the other part of the town ; as there was a deep and rapid river between them and us. They had also on their side of the river, and about the middle of the town, a large strong castle, or tower, which over-looked all our works ; and their whole army lay incamped within a quarter of a mile on the back of the town.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, our Generals seemed resolved on passing the river at this place ; for they judged from the extreme dryness of the season that it might probably be fordable. Yet however the undertaking seemed rash, and almost desperate to every one but themselves, even though the river should prove to be fordable.

In order to carry on their design, they caused the intrenchment on the river side, to be raised very high, and made very strong ; with embrasures for fifty battering cannon, and platforms for eight mortars. With these we soon battered down that face of the castle which lay next us, and from which they had annoyed us with their small arms, and a couple of Drakes. We had also beat down and levelled their works on the river side, yet all this signified nothing, unless the river was fordable. We had at that time three *Danish* soldiers under sentence of death in the Provost's ; these had a pardon

don offered them if they would undertake fording the river. The men readily agreed to it, and putting on armour, they entered the river at noon-day, at three several places, some distance from each other. Our men in the trenches were ordered to fire, seemingly at them, but yet over their heads; from whence the enemy concluded them deserters, and did not fire at them until they saw them returning: But our great and small shot in the trenches being prepared at this instant, we fired incessantly over our men, which obliged the enemy to keep down their heads. By this means the three men were preserved, two of them only being slightly wounded. The deepest part of the river took them up to the navel: But it had not been known so low in the memory of any living. This experiment being made, every thing was prepared for passing the river, and attacking the town. Forty Grenadiers, and eighty choice men out of every regiment of Foot, were appointed for this service; and the whole army to be in readiness to sustain, should there be occasion.

Accordingly on the 20th of *June*, this detachment marched openly down into our works at mid-day; all the hills on our side being crowded with people to behold the action. This brought *St. Ruth* with his whole army down to the town to give us a warm reception; whereupon we thought that matters were not so prudently conducted, as they might have been; and indeed, as things then appeared, we had but a dismal prospect. The detachment lay in suspense in our works above three hours, and at length were ordered back to camp; so we concluded all our labour and pains were lost. However, orders were given that neither Officer nor soldier of the detachment should stir from their regiments, that they should all be in readiness at a minute's warning, and not be put on any other duty.

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When *St. Ruth* saw our detachment drawing off, he concluded that we should not attempt passing the *Shannon* at this place; and thereupon ordered his army back to camp, leaving the usual compliment of men to guard the town, and to let them all see how satisfied he was as to the security of *Atblone*, he made an entertainment for all the Gentlemen and Ladies of his camp.

Our army lay very quiet both in camp and trenches all that night and the next day, without firing a shot great or small; insomuch that it was generally believed on both sides, we should make no further attempts here, but endeavour to pass at some other place. And indeed it looked something like it, for next day we were drawing off our cannon and mortars, and all combustible matters out of our trenches, and that after such a manner that the enemy might easily perceive it. This confirmed *St. Ruth* in his security.

Thus matters continued till the 22d, which happened to be the day that *St. Ruth* had appointed for his entertainment; but early this morning centinels were posted on all the hills that look toward the enemy, to prevent any one from appearing thereon; and about ten o'clock orders came along the lines, for the detachment of every regiment to draw out, and march down into the trenches by themselves with all the privacy imaginable. This was so exactly observed, that the enemy did not in the least suspect any thing of the matter. About three o'clock the signal was given, when on a sudden we bounced over our works into the river, and were a good way on before the enemy perceived us. This roused them as it were out of sleep, and they began to fire upon us after a confused manner; but the cannon from our batteries, and the small arms from our trenches fired continually over our heads, until we had gained the opposite bank, so that they did us very little hurt; and then they

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they were in such consternation that they made little or no resistance. In short we were masters of the town before *St. Ruth* knew any thing of the matter. As soon as he heard it, he marched down in great haste to drive us back again; but here he found, when it was too late, that he had been guilty of a great mistake, in leaving the works on the back part of the town standing and in good repair; for these were now a defence for us against himself, and indeed this was the only thing that induced our Generals to attempt passing the river; for had he destroyed these works, we should never have been able to defend the town against his whole army, especially as the castle which still held out, was crowded with men; for though we had battered down that face of it which lay to the water, yet the other parts remained intire, and had a number of men in them.

St. Ruth finding there was no possibility of driving us back again, returned his army to camp, and early next morning marched off in great haste, upon which the castle surrendered at discretion. In it were Major-General *Waugbop*, Brigadier *Maxwell*, and above 500 men. The enemy had near 2000 killed and taken; and what may seem very strange, we had but 29 men killed, and about as many wounded, and not an Officer of note hurt.

Here I had a narrow escape of my life, a stone which had been thrown from the top of the castle as I passed under it, fell on my shoulder; the effects of which I feel to this day, on every change of weather. This indeed I deserved for being so fool-hardy, as to put myself on this command when it was not my turn; but it was a warning to me ever after. It is an old maxim in war, that he who goes as far as he is commanded is a good man, but he that goes farther is a fool.

The day after *St. Ruth* marched off, our army passed the *Shannon*, and encamped about a mile from

1691. from the town. Here we lay until the works were repaired, and the town cleansed from the dead bodies, and then we marched after the enemy. Our first day's march was to *Ballinasloe*; here the General had an account that *St. Ruth* had taken up the strong camp of *Agbrim*, within three miles of us, where he seemed resolved to stand a battle. Early the next morning being the 12th of *July*, the General ordered all the tents and baggage to go back to *Atblone*. At the same time he marched the army in four columns up to the enemy, and found them drawn up in two lines to very great advantage, their whole camp standing at a small distance behind them; which looked as if they were resolved to win the day or lose all.

Their right flank was covered by a large morass, which extended along their front till it passed their center. From thence to the castle of *Agbrim*, (which covered their left flank) were a parcel of old garden ditches, within which was posted their left wing of Foot; and they had a body of Horse drawn up on a plain behind these ditches. *St. Ruth* had also posted Lieutenant General *Sarsfield* with a reserve body of Horse in the rear of their center, with positive directions not to stir from thence, until he received his orders.

We began the battle about four in the afternoon, by first attacking them on the right, and so gradually on, until we on the right came to engage their left, that had been posted within the ditches. They maintained their ground on the right and in the center with great obstinacy and resolution, and repulsed our men in those places several times with considerable loss; but they that had been posted within the ditches did not behave well; for upon our attacking them, they gave us only one scattering fire, and away they ran to the next ditch; we scrambled over the first ditch, and pursued them to the next, and so from ditch to ditch until we drove them in-

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to the plain where their Horse were drawn up. These came down upon us, and obliged us to retire to the ditches, from whence we fired smartly upon them, and made them give back. By this time our Horse having marched round between the morafs and the ditches, engaged their Horse, and soon obliged them to follow their Foot, who never attempted to rally. Much about this time *St. Ruth* was taken off by a cannon ball : It was at a very critical juncture, when his orders were much wanted ; for their center and right wing still maintained their ground ; but seeing their left put to flight, and not having orders from their General, they soon ran into confusion, and were put to a total rout.

Sarsfield was very punctual in observing *St. Ruth's* orders ; for though he had several opportunities of doing great service, yet he would not stir from his post, still expecting his General's orders. At length he saw all was lost, and was then obliged to scamper off with the crowd, without striking one stroke, though he had the greatest and best part of their Cavalry with him. Our Horse made a great slaughter of their Foot in the pursuit, which we continued till night came on. The enemy had near 4000 killed, and above 2000 taken, and we had above 3000 killed and wounded.

Never did the *Irish* fight so well in their own country, as they did this day, (the Foot only excepted, which were posted within the ditches) and had it not been that *St. Ruth* fell, it were hard to say how matters would have ended ; for to do him justice, notwithstanding his oversight at *Atblone*, he was certainly a gallant brave man, and a good Officer, as appeared by the disposition he made of his army this day. Had he lived to order *Sarsfield* down to sustain his left wing, it would have given affairs a turn on that side ; and as to that of leaving his camp standing with all their baggage in it,

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1691. not excepting his own ; this was designed purely to oblige his army to fight for their all, and it spoke his resolution to conquer or die.

Our army halted here the day after the battle, until our tents and baggage came up ; and we obliged the prisoners to bury the dead. The day following we marched towards *Galway*, which surrendered the third day after we came before it. Here *Baldarick O Donnel* came with his clan, and made his submission to the Government.

And now having taken *Galway*, we marched directly to *Limerick*, where the enemy had rallied all their scattered forces. This garison, with part of the counties of *Clane* and *Kerry*, was all they had of the kingdom : Yet still having hopes of succours from *France*, they determined to hold *Limerick* to the last extremity ; and with this view had taken up the same ground they lay on the preceding year. Whereupon our General took up the same ground, which the King then sat down on. We might indeed have come at the ground that they were upon ; but then they by marching through the town, would have taken up this ground, and cut off our communication with our garisons, from whence we were to be supplied with necessaries. The General soon found that the siege would spin out to a great length, unless some means were found for passing the river at this very place ; whereby he might be able to drive the enemy from the ground they were on, to invest the town on all sides, and at the same time to keep our communication open. But it was very difficult to effect this, as the enemy kept constant guards, and patrols going all hours of the night, on their side of the river. He discovered, however, by means of a secret correspondence he held with Colonel *Lutterel*, that to preserve his estate, he was inclined to favour him in passing the river ; and accordingly, when *Lutterel* had that guard, he gave

gave the General notice of it. We had every thing in readiness, the bridges laid at the place appointed, and part of the army over before it was day ; and as the morning proved foggy, we marched up to their camp undiscovered, and were the first that brought them the account of our passing the river. Here we found most of them asleep in their huts, and this sudden unexpected attack put them into such a consternation, that they ran about in a distracted manner, some in their shirts, some quite naked, most of the foot making towards the town : But here the gates were shut against them, lest our men might enter with them, by which means the greater part of them were killed under the walls. The few Horse they had with them, fled to the farthest part of the county *Clare*, much in the same condition with their Foot. Our General having succeeded very fortunately in this important affair, soon invested the town on all sides. This brought on the famous Capitulation of *Limerick*, by which the *Irish* surrendered both the town and kingdom. *Tyrconnel* died in *Limerick* during this siege ; and thus ended the war of *Ireland*.

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In the month of *May* the Earl of *Galway* embarked at *Waterford* with 23 Regiments of foot (of which ours was one). We landed at *Bristol*, from whence we marched to *Southampton*, and there embarked, in order to make a descent into *France*, under the command of the Duke of *Linster*, second son to the old Duke *Schomberg*. We had the grand fleet of *England* and *Holland* to attend us ; but as the famous sea-fight of *La Hogue* (in which the naval force of *France* was in a great measure destroyed) had been fought but three weeks before, the *French* Court expected a descent, and had drawn a great number of their regular troops and militia to the sea-coast ; and we found it so strongly guarded in all parts, that in a Coun-

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cil of war, which was held on that occasion, neither Admirals nor Generals were for landing the troops. So when we had sailed along the shore as far as *Ushant*, we returned and came to an anchor in the *Downs*. The King was then with the army in *Flanders*; here therefore we waited until the return of an Express, which the Queen had sent, to know his Majesty's pleasure, with respect to the troops on board.

About this time it was reported, that the Governour of *Dunkirk* had consented to deliver up that fortress to the Duke of *Linster*, that the Earl of *Marlborough*, or his Countess, had discovered the secret, and betrayed it to the *French Court*, and that his Lordship was put out of favour on that account: But this was a groundless report, occasioned by our lying so long opposite *Dunkirk*. Besides, the thing in itself was not practicable; for considering the situation of the place, it was not possible for the Governour to deliver it up to us, without the consent of the whole garison, and that is not to be supposed. Governours indeed have betrayed their garisons by land, where an army can come up to the very gates of them: But this case was very different; for we could not possibly land but in fair day-light, and that near a mile from the town, where we must wait the opportunity of tides, and stand within reach of a number of cannon. The report therefore could be nothing more than meer chimæra; and besides, it is a mystery to this day, whether the Earl of *Marlborough* was in reality ever out of favour with King *William*, though in appearance indeed he was in disgrace.

Upon the return of the Express, we sailed to *Ostend*, where the troops landed, and marched from thence to *Furnes* and *Dixmude*, the enemy having quitted them on our approach. We continued here until we had fortified them, and put them in a state of defence. Then leaving garisons in them,
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the rest of the troops returned to *Ostend*, where we embarked and sailed for *England*. Our Regiment quartered in *Bristol*.

In the beginning of *May* our regiment marched to *Portsmouth*, where we embarked on board the grand fleet, and served as Marines this summer. The fleet was commanded by three joint-Admirals, viz. Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Sir *Cloudsley Shovel*, and Admiral *Killegrew*, all on board the *Britannia*. Toward the end of *May* the fleet sailed from *Spithead* to *Torbay*, where in a few days we were joined by the *Dutch* squadron commanded by Admiral *Callenberg*. Here we waited the arrival of Sir *George Rooke*, who commanded a separate squadron of twenty Men of War, for convoying the *Turky* Merchant-ships up the *Mediterranean*. About the middle of *June*, Sir *George* with the Merchant-men joyned us, and next day the whole fleet set sail, and stood away to the Westward. This was esteemed the finest fleet that had appeared on the *British* seas, in the memory of any man then living. Here were near one hundred line-of-battle ships, exclusive of the squadron under Sir *George*: There were also Fire-ships and Tenders, and Merchant-men of several nations besides *England* and *Holland*. The whole was computed to be rather more than a thousand ships. The grand fleet stretched in a line one after the other, each Admiral with his squadron in its proper station. They sailed thus in line of battle between the coast of *France* and Sir *George*, with his Merchant-ships: Not one ship being to be seen without the line, or a-head of the *Britannia*. All the sea, from the line of battle to our *English* coast, seemed as a floating wood covered with canvas; and as the weather was very fair, the whole made a most glorious appearance.

When we came the length of the Land's-end, our Admirals sent off two light ships to look into

1693. the Harbour of *Brest*, and see whether the *French* squadron had sailed from thence. In the mean time the whole fleet continued sailing with a fair easy gale, until we had passed the Bay of *Biscay*. Here our Admirals were to open their orders, by which they found, that they were not to sail farther with Sir *George*, but return home to guard their own coast. The two ships that had been sent to look into *Brest*, arrived at this time, and gave an account that the *Brest* squadron had sailed three days before they got thither. We had also an account from the coast of *Spain*, that the *Brest* and *Toulon* squadrons were joined, and at anchor in *Lagos* Bay, in order to intercept Sir *George Rooke*, with the *Turky* Merchant-ships; so good was the *French* intelligence, that they knew precisely the time our fleet was to sail, and that our grand fleet was to accompany Sir *George* to such a latitude and not farther; in consequence of which their two squadrons were then joined.

Our Admirals upon opening their orders, sent for Sir *George*, and told him they must conform to them. He insisted, that they very well knew, the *French* squadrons were joined, and lay in wait for him and his Merchant-men in *Lagos* Bay: That it was not more than twenty-four hours sail from thence, and therefore he hoped they would not think of quitting him, since that must infallibly sacrifice both him and so much treasure to the enemy. He desired further, that they would keep him company, at least till such time as they found whether their intelligence was true or not. Sir *Cloudsley* on so great an emergency, was for breaking through their orders: But the other two were absolutely against it; and as there were two against one, our grand fleet tacked about and sailed for *England*, leaving Sir *George* to shift for himself.

By the time we had reached *Torbay*, an Express arrived from Sir *George*, with an account that the

second

second day after we had parted from him, early in the morning (as he expected) he espied the *French* fleet at an anchor in *Lagos Bay* : That on the first sight of him, seeing so great a fleet with him, they did believe the grand fleet had still kept him company, and therefore sipt their cables, and stood away for the streights. That he on the first sight of them, made signals to the Merchant-ships to make the best of their way back again, while he kept in the rear, and made a running fight of it. Before the enemy discovered their mistake, Sir *George* had got a great way a-head of them, insomuch, that their largest ships could not come up with him, and the few light ones that did, dared not attack him. In the end he brought off the whole fleet, except a few heavy Merchant-men, that were taken. Here the nation was betrayed by a set of vile men, that had crept into the Ministry; the most secret transactions of our Cabinet were communicated to the Court of *St. Germain's*, nay it was shrewdly suspected that two of our Admirals were not right, for neither of them was ever employed after.

Upon the arrival of the express from Sir *George*, our Admirals immediately put to sea, and crowded all the sail they could towards *Brest* in order to intercept the *French* squadron on their return. But they were too nimble for us, and had put into that port two days before we made the length of *Ushant*. Upon this we returned to *Spithead*, where we found Sir *George* with all his squadron, and most of the Merchant-men.

About the middle of *September*, our regiment disembarked at *Portsmouth*, from whence we marched to *Norwich*. Here we quartered about six weeks, then marched to *London*, were reviewed by the King at *Hyde-Park*, and in two days embarked at the *Red-house* for *Flanders*. We landed at *Ostend* in *December*, and quartered there the remaining part of the winter.

1693.

Our Lieutenant Colonel *Frederick Hamilton*, who always attended at the head of the regiment, was now made Colonel in the room of the Earl of *Meath*, who chose rather to stay in *Ireland*.

1694.

Our regiment was now to act under the King in *Flanders*. In the beginning of *May* he ordered the army to rendezvous at *Bethlem* near *Louvain*, and on the review found them 90,000 compleat. The *French* army was commanded by the Duke of *Luxemburgh*. They were at the same time assembling on the plains of *Mont St. Andre*, and were computed to be near 100,000.

Soon after the review we marched to *Rosebeck*, where we lay near a month. In this time a dispute arose about the ranks of some of our *British* regiments of foot, and in particular about that of ours; to rectify which, the King ordered a board of General officers to meet.

Now as the General officers were most of them Colonels of regiments raised in *England* by King *James* the second, they shewed great partiality on this occasion; for they would not allow the regiments raised in *Scotland* or *Ireland* to have any rank in the army, but from the time of their coming into *England*, and entering upon *English* pay. By this regulation, ours that had been regimented in *Ireland* in the reign of King *Charles* the second, had lost rank of eleven regiments, that had afterwards been raised by King *James* the second. The King thought it very hard, but as he had left the matter to them, he confirmed their sentence. From hence it is, that regiments raised in *Ireland* take rank only from the time they come on the *British* establishment: *Scotland* since the *Union* is out of the question. However this affair has occasioned some confusion, and many complaints and disputes, even to the time of my quitting the army, as shall be shewn in its proper place.

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1694.

His Majesty having all things in readiness for carrying on the campaign, was very intent on giving *Luxemburg* battle. In order to which, he advanced up to him in eight columns. *Luxemburg* however would not stand it, but retired behind the *Meaigne*, where there was no coming at him. Our army thereupon encamped on those plains, where we continued above a month, expecting that *Luxemburg* would draw out to fight us: But all to no purpose. The King then formed a scheme for passing the *Schelde* at *Pont Espier*, by which means he might get within the enemy's lines in *French Flanders*. If he could have effected this, it would give him an opportunity of raising large contributions, and of levelling the lines they had in those parts; and he could also have obliged *Luxemburg* to fight him on his own terms.

To keep the thing as secret as possible, the King had concerted it with the Elector of *Bavaria* and the *Field Deputies* only. In order to execute this scheme the Elector marched off on a sudden with 20,000 men. He was to make all the expedition he could to gain the pass, and early next morning the King marched the rest of the army after the Elector, having first sent all the heavy baggage to *Brussels*: But as secretly as this affair was carried on, *Luxemburg* had timely notice of it, and had sent off the Marshal *Bouffliers* with a strong body of Horse and Dragoons, each of them carrying foot behind them, who came up to the pass some hours before the Elector. It was said however, that had he pushed his march as he might have done, he must have reached the pass several hours before *Bouffliers*: But be that as it will, the Elector was suspected upon this occasion. His Secretary had been hanged the last year at the head of the army, for holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, and his Highness had acquitted himself of that matter: But this new affair made

1694. many people think he was not right at the bottom.

The King being disappointed here, marched the army on toward *Oudenard*, and passed the *Scheld* a little above that town. We incamped on the plains about half a league from thence, where we lay until the heavy baggage came up, and then marched to *Rosselaar*, where we ended the Campaign. Our Regiment quartered in *Ghent*, which place was our quarters every winter this war.

1695. The King had formed a design to open this Campaign with the siege of *Namur*, and to cover the matter, he incamped, in the beginning of *May*, with the gros of his army at *Besselaar* near the enemy's lines, between *Menin* and *Ipres*, and made a show as if he intended to besiege Fort *Knoque*; while the Elector of *Bavaria* and General *Ginkle* (now Earl of *Atblone*) formed a flying camp near *Brussels*, under pretence of covering that town, and the country about it.

The *French* army was commanded by the Duke *de Villeroy* (for *Luxemburg* was now dead) both armies being in number much the same as the last year. *Villeroy* drew with the gros of his army within his lines opposite the King; and Marshal *Bouffliers* formed a flying camp near *Mons*, to observe the motions of the Elector and *Atblone*. The Mareschal was very circumspect, but could not prevent them from investing *Namur*: He found means, however, to throw himself with a good body of Foot and Dragoons into the town. It was invested on the 20th of *May*, O. S. which was no small surprize both to *Villeroy* and the Court of *France*: But they were very easy about it, when they found that *Bouffliers* had thrown himself into it, with such a powerful reinforcement; for *Namur* was esteemed one of the strongest fortifications in *Europe*: The castle was of great extent,

1695.

extent, situated on a rock, with prodigious works about it: They had in it a Marechal of *France*, together, with Count *Guiscard*, the Governour, an old experienced Officer, and a garison of 14,000 choice troops, well provided with all manner of necessaries for a long siege; and to compleat the whole, they had a numerous army abroad in the field. All these things considered, the undertaking was looked upon to be exceedingly hazardous, at least, if not rash. Notwithstanding all this the King was determined to go through with the siege of this important place; for he had undertaken it by the advice of the famous ingineer Lieutenant-General *Coborn*, who had been chief director of the fortifications of *Namur*, when it was in the hands of the *States-General*, and consequently knew well all the strong and weak parts of it.

When his Majesty received advice that the Elector had invested *Namur*, he considered that upon his marching up thither, *Villeroy* would take the opportunity of plundering all this part of the country. Whereupon he ordered Major-General *Ellinberg* with nine Regiments of Foot, and one of Dragoons to enter *Dixmude*, in order to cover the country thereabout. He also left with Prince *Vaudemont* about 20,000 men to cover *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and the parts adjacent; and then marched with the main of the army to join the Elector at *Namur*. Here I shall leave him for a while; for as our Regiment was left with Prince *Vaudemont*, I chuse in this place to give an account of what passed between him and *Villeroy*.

When the King had marched off, the Prince took up the strong camp of *Arseil*, three leagues from *Ghent*, as if he designed to maintain this post against the *French* army. *Villeroy*, who by this time had drawn his army without their lines, and was upon

1695. on his march toward him, finding the prince strongly posted and well intrenched, stopt about three leagues short of him, and waited for some battering cannon he had sent for from *Lisle*.

The Prince had now a difficult task to manage, a small army against 90,000 ; it stood him upon therefore to have trusty spies, otherwise he might easily be surprized and cut to pieces. For this purpose he procured three *Capuchin* Friars ; one of them who was a crafty artful man, kept constantly about *Villeroy's* quarters, and became very intimate with many of the General Officers. From them he easily learned every scheme or project that *Villeroy* had formed against the Prince ; the other two plyed constantly between both camps, and brought their intelligence. Never did any General stand more in need of good and speedy intelligence than the Prince did on this occasion ; and to speak the truth, never was any General better served.

The Prince placing great confidence in his spies, resolved to stand his ground as long as possible, in order to gain time for the King to fix himself at *Namur*. *Villeroy* having waited eight days for the coming up of his cannon, marched up within cannon-shot of our intrenchment. There he halted, and gave orders for cutting a great number of fascines, and to have every thing in readiness to attack us by break of day next morning. He had also, some hours before, sent off Lieutenant-General *Montal* with a large body of Horse and Dragoons, round our right, in order to prevent our retiring to *Ghent*, and to fall on us in our rear, when he attacked us in front. *Villeroy* had formed this scheme in order to make sure of our small army ; and had it taken effect, it would have blasted all the King's hopes at once, and obliged him to raise the siege before he had fired a gun.

Prince *Vaudemont* had an account of all this the night before *Villeroy* came up ; whereupon early
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1695.

this morning he ordered the army to strike their tents and pack up their baggage, and sent them away to *Ghent* with all their train, except a few light field-pieces, which he kept to amuse the enemy. About five in the afternoon *Villeroy* came up, and we made a show as if we were determined to stand him. Thus matters stood till a little after sun-set, at which time the Prince ordered the Cavalry to dismount, and take the intrenchments, and the Foot to sink out of them, and march with all the privacy and haste imaginable toward *Ghent*; and when it grew dark, the Cavalry mounted and followed the Foot.

Villeroy did not in the least suspect this, till some of his advanced guards observing that matters were very quiet in the intrenchments, at length ventured up to them, and finding that the bird was flown, sent to acquaint the General of it; whereupon he ordered the army to march with all the expedition they could after us: But we having the start of them by some hours, were safe under the works of *Ghent* by the time that day began to peep. General *Montal* had got in our rear as we were marching off, and came down on our left flank: But Sir *David Collier* with two brigades of Foot, gave him so warm a reception, that he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. When it was fair day-light, *Villeroy's* Horse began to appear; upon which the Prince ordered the army to pass the canal that runs from *Ghent* to *Bruges*. This canal had on it a very good breast-work for the defence of it, and by the means of it, we had a communication with *Bruges*, *Newport*, and *Ostend*.

Villeroy had reckoned himself sure of us, and consequently was greatly chagrined at the disappointment; however, he was determined to make a second push at us, expecting he might meet with an opportunity of passing the canal upon us, which would in some measure answer his end: But here
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1695. the Prince's good intelligence saved us again. He could not form any design, or make the least movement, but the Prince had immediate notice of it, insomuch that the *French* said he dealt with the Devil. And indeed, considering the deep canal that was between us, it was very surprizing to every man of us, that he could have such timely notice of every thing that was transacted among them. *Villeroy* spent a full month to little purpose in marching forward and backward along these canals, which harraressed our small army exceedingly ; at length he turned off to *Dixmude*, where it was impossible for the Prince to give any manner of assistance, and there indeed he succeeded vastly beyond his most sanguine expectations.

Major-General *Ellinberg* was a *Dane*, who by his personal courage and merit had raised himself from a private centinel to the rank of a Major-General in the *Danish* service ; and was particularly recommended to the King by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, (who commanded the *Danish* forces) as a gallant Officer and a proper man for the command of *Dixmude* : But his behaviour therein surprized all that had ever known him ; for as soon as *Villeroy* appeared he sent for all the commanding Officers, and without firing a shot, proposed to send out to him to capitulate. The Officers as timorous as himself, after a short pause consented to it ; the commanding Officer of the Dragoons only excepted, who exclaimed loudly against so base and cowardly an action : However, one against so many signified nothing ; so an Officer was sent out to *Villeroy*, who, though he was surprized at so unexpected a message, yet (taking the thing right) he returned for answer to the Governour, that he would enter into no other Capitulation with him than this ; that the garison should surrender prisoners of war, that the place should be delivered up to him within an hour, and that if he fired one
shot,

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shot, he would put every man of them to the sword ; to all which they basely and scandalously submitted. But we must not forget the behaviour of an *English* Gunner on this occasion : Upon sending out the Officer to capitulate, the Governour had given orders, that not a shot should be fired on pain of death, until he should send further orders. Now as soon as *Villeroy* had sent back the Officer, he (believing the Governour would not dare fire upon his men) had ordered some *Engineers*, with a good body of Foot to march openly down and make a lodgement on the covert-way. This was contrary to all the rules of war ; upon which one of our Gunners, supposing there was treachery in the case, let fly his gun among them ; this set all their shot going, great and small ; for every one supposed that the Governour had given orders for it : Hereupon the enemy scoured back, leaving many of their men dead behind them. The firing however, was soon stopt by the Governour, who yet could not discover who it was that began it ; and on surrendering the place and the troops, he made up that matter with *Villeroy*. In this manner was *Dixmude*, with a noble body of troops, basely given up the very day the enemy appeared before it. Both Officers and soldiers were immediately sent prisoners into *France*, and dispersed throughout the kingdom, contrary to the cartel that had been settled for the release of prisoners.

From *Dixmude*, *Villeroy* marched to *Deynse*. The Prince on his retreat from *Arseil*, had ordered Brigadier *O'Farrel* to take the command of this place on him. In it were only two weak battalions, who on *Villeroy's* appearing before it, followed the example of *Dixmude*, and were treated in the same manner.

And now *Villeroy* who had spent much time in these parts, began to think of marching to the relief of *Namur*. He resolved however first to take
Brussels

1695. *Brussels* in his way, and to give the plunder of that famous City to his Soldiers: But the Prince, whose intelligence never failed him, having early notice of his design, had got thither before him, which happily saved the town from being plundered, though he could not prevent it from being bombarded. When *Villeroy* had done all he could against *Brussels*, he then determined to relieve *Namur*, and to oblige the King to raise the siege, which by this time was far advanced; for on the 4th of *July*, *Bouffliers* had been obliged to surrender the Town, and retire with his troops into the Castle, and the King was now battering that with 150 Cannon and 50 Mortars, and had made himself master of a great part of the outworks.

It was on the 4th of *August* that *Villeroy* drew off from *Brussels*; from thence he marched to the plains of *Fleury*, where he was reinforced from all the garisons thereabout, and his army was computed to be above 100,000. Upon his drawing off from *Brussels*, *Vaudemont* marched and joined the King; who, having left the Elector with about 20,000 men to carry on the siege, was encamped with the main of the army at the strong camp of *Massey*, behind the *Mebaign*, a good league from *Namur*. On the 12th of *August*, the Prince joined the King, and the day following our Regiment, with three other *British*, was ordered to relieve an equal number that had been shattered at the siege, where we arrived time enough to come in for our share of it.

On the 14th, his Majesty had an account that *Villeroy* was on his march toward him, and that he had positive orders to raise the siege. On the 16th, he pitched his camp within half a league of the King, and next morning advanced in order of battle, within cannon-shot of his intrenchments. From thence he had a fair view of his Majesty's situation and the disposition of his army, which it seems

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seems he did not like ; for he marched back to his camp without making the least attempt. Hereupon he held a grand consultation with his General Officers, who to a man were against attacking the King. They were not for marching off, but concluded to continue thereabout, in order to distress him in his forage and other necessaries : But the King had supplied himself abundantly with every thing of this kind, while the other was throwing away his time in dancing after Prince *Vaudemont*.

On the 21st, very early in the morning, they perceived signals of distress from the top of the Castle, whereupon they advanced again up to the King's intrenchments, but to no purpose ; so returned to camp as before. And early next morning, *Villeroy* setting fire to his camp, marched off. This was a signal to *Bouffiers* to make the best terms he could.

During these motions, the Elector pushed on the siege with all the vigor imaginable, and on the 20th of *August*, made a general assault in manner following. The evening before the attack, the King ordered down from his camp 2000 Grenadiers and 4000 Fusiliers ; these marched into the trenches as they arrived, and before it was day, all the besieging army also marched into them ; by which means the trenches were so crowded, that two *British* Regiments, (of which ours was one) were ordered to march off within the walls of *Salsine* abby, above a quarter of a mile from the breach we were to attack.

About ten in the morning the signal was given, at which time the Lord *Cutts*, at the head of the *British* Grenadiers, sustained by four *British* Regiments, attacked the breach of the *Terra-Nova* ; Count *De Riviera* led on the *Bavarians*, who attacked the Covert-way of the *Coborn* ; the *Dutch* under the command of the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*, attacked the Covert-way about the *Devil's House* ;

and

1695. and the Covert-way, from thence down to the *Maese* was attacked by the *Brandenburgers*, *Hanoverians* and *Hessians*. The Lord *Cutts*, with two of our *British* Battalions and the Grenadiers, were beat off from the breach, before our two Regiments from *Salsine* abby could come up: However, we afterward carried on the attack, and mounted the breach, but could not proceed farther, so were obliged to retire and follow the Grenadiers. Thus were we beat off, yet all the other attacks succeeded; for they drove the enemy out of their Covert-way, and made a lodgment thereon, though not without the loss of many brave Officers and Soldiers. Our Regiment in particular, (which indeed, I believe, was the greatest sufferer of any) had our Lieutenant-Colonel, four Captains and seven Subalterns killed; our Colonel, three Captains, and ten Subalterns wounded; and 271 private men killed and wounded. At this attack I received a shot in my right shoulder; the bullet was cut in two by the bone, (or perhaps there was a brace of balls) for one part went quite through, and the other was taken out ten weeks after. I was thirty weeks under cure.

The King saw this action from a rising ground at the back of *Salsine* abby, and took particular notice of the behaviour of our Regiment; for *our's* only mounted the top of the breach, and we planted our Colours thereon; but could not proceed farther, because a strong retrenchment had been thrown upon the inside, which we could not see till we had mounted the very top of the breach, so we were obliged to follow the crowd. His Majesty on this occasion was pleased to honour us with the title of, The *Royal* Regiment of Foot of *Ireland*.

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a Colours, and made me senior to seven Ensigns at once.

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Bouffliers now found that we were masters of his innermost Covert-way, and were preparing to raise batteries on the Glacis; he knew also, that if these were brought to perfection, the garison could have no other terms but that of being made prisoners of war. In these circumstances he was when he made the signals of distress above mentioned, the day after the attack; and upon this, seeing *Villeroy's* camp on fire, he beat the *Chamade* the day following. Whereupon Hostages were exchanged and a capitulation set on foot. *Bouffliers* would have excused himself from being a party; it being beneath the dignity of a Marechal of *France* to treat of a surrender: But the King would not allow any one else to treat, and as a Marechal was present, the Governour would not take it upon him; so he was obliged to treat with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and to sign the following capitulation, viz. That he with the Garison should, on the 26th instant, O. S. march out of the breach, with Drums beating, Colours flying, six pieces of Cannon, and as many covered Waggon, and other marks of honour.

Accordingly the Marechal and Governour marched out at the head of their Troops, which were about 7000. As soon as they were clear of the Castle, the Heer *Dykevelt*, one of the *Field Deputies*, went up to *Bouffliers* and desired to speak with him in private. To this he readily consented, believing he had had something extraordinary to communicate to him relating to peace; for all parties at this time were heartily tired of the war. But he was strangely surprized when *Dykevelt* told him he was the King of *England's* prisoner, who had ordered him to be arrested on account of the Garisons of *Dixmude* and *Deynse*, that had been detained contrary to the cartel, which was settled by commissaries appointed by both Kings

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1695. for the release of prisoners. He was still more surprized, when he found himself surrounded by a party of Horse: The commander telling him, he must go with him to *Maestricht*. Hereupon he desired he might have liberty to send to the Elector, with whom he had made his capitulation. This was granted, and to him he complained of the violation of his treaty, and let him know that the King his Master would not fail to revenge the affront. The Elector replied, that the King of *England* commanded, and that he made use of this expedient, to prevent the perpetual infractions which his Master continually made upon all cartels and capitulations, contrary to the law of arms. Whereupon he was compelled to submit, and was sent to *Maestricht*, where he remained till those Troops were returned.

When the King had settled matters at *Namur*, and the wounded had been sent down the *Maese* to *Liege*, where our grand Hospital was fixed, he drew the army into the field, and offered *Villeroy* battle: But the Marshal declined it, and drew within his lines. Soon after both armies went into quarters, and the Garisons of *Dixmude* and *Deynse* being returned, a Court-martial was ordered to be held at *Ghent* for the tryal of the commanding Officers.

Major-General *Ellingberg* said but little in his defence. He frankly owned that from the moment he received orders for that command, he was unaccountably seized with a panick, which he could never get over; nor could he say he had ever after acted with any presence of mind, and therefore he dated his ruin from that moment.

The plea of the commanding Officers was, that as the Major-General commanded, it was their duty to obey: But that being a very poor pretence, the Court-Martial passed the following sentence. That Major-General *Ellingberg* being guilty of,

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etc. should have his head cut off by the common Executioner of the *Danish* Forces ; and that all the commanding Officers that had signed the capitulation, should be cashiered and rendered incapable of ever serving more. At the same time they recommended the Officer that commanded the Dragoons, to the King for preferment.

Brigadier *O-Farrel*, a man of long service, who had behaved well on all occasions, pleaded that *Dyense* was but a poor fortified village, and that the Garison consisting of two weak Battalions only, was not sufficient to stop such a numerous army from running over its works, even without firing a gun, or putting a spade in ground. The commanding Officers alledged the same thing, and it was well known to be matter of fact : Notwithstanding which, the Brigadier was cashiered, and rendered incapable of ever serving the Crown of *England* more. The King confirmed the sentences of the Court-Martial, and every thing was executed accordingly.

But while things were going on happily abroad, the *Whig* and *Tory* parties at home, (forgetful of the true interest of their country,) were driving the nation into confusion. The *Whigs* to a man were all for the *Revolution* ; but many of them who were of turbulent and restless spirits, were for in-croaching too much on the *Prerogative* ; and some went so far, that they were downright *Republicans*, and would have no King at all. On the other hand, the greater part of the *Tories* were intirely against the *Revolution*, and these were for bringing back their abdicated King. But as they dared not own this publicly, they covered their real design by crying out, that the *Church* was in danger ; and this artifice brought over many well meaning men to their party, who yet continued zealous for the *Revolution*.

The King plainly saw the fatal consequences of this Party-Spirit, on our affairs both at home and

1695.

abroad ; and therefore used all the means in his power to reconcile them, and bring them over to the true interest of their country. He changed hands several times, bringing either party into the ministry, sometimes half one, half the other, which was called the *Motly* ministry ; but all to no purpose. So in the end he became fretful and peevish, and was it not for the great regard he had for the *Protestant* religion, and the liberties of *Europe*, (which he plainly saw must be swallowed up by the *French* King, if he did not stand in the gap,) was it not for these, he would have left the kingdom to themselves, and returned to his native country, where he was in a manner adored. But as these were at stake, he determined still to continue among them, ungrateful as they were.

About this time a plot was set on foot for assassinating the King, under the soft name of attacking the Prince of *Orange* in his Winter Quarters ; and the *French* King was so confident of succeeding in it, that he had 30,000 men to assemble at *Calais*, with shipping to transport them to *England*, where the *Jacks* were ready to join them. King *James* also had arrived there, waiting for the signal of the fatal blow ; but the watchful eye of providence disappointed their wicked designs, and the conspirators received the just reward of their villainy.

Upon the discovery of this plot, the King perceived who were his and the nation's friends, and who were not. He saw clearly that the greater part of the *Tories* were rank *Jacobites*, who had hooked in the *Church*, only as a pretence to cover their dark designs, and to draw in well-meaning men ; he saw also that some among the *Whigs* were nothing better than downright *Republicans*. He therefore very wisely threw off the violent men of either party, and relied on those that were more moderate in each of them. Of these he chose a Ministry,

nistry, which joined heartily in such measures as were for the true interest of their Country. These he continued all the remaining part of his reign ; as did also his successor *Queen Ann*, with very little variation, until she had views inconsistent with the good of the nation, and then they were no longer fit for her purpose. 1695.

It was this ministry, with the concurrence of a zealous Parliament, that preserved the nation at this juncture. The silver coin had been clipt to that degree that it was not worth half its nominal value, from hence arose infinite confusion and a general discontent. All these things were aggravated by the *Jacks*, insomuch that the Nation was upon the point of breaking out into rebellion ; and the *French* King had conceived such hopes from hence, that he told King *James*, if this did not restore him to his dominions, he must never expect such another opportunity. However by calling in the old coin, and erecting mints in several parts of the kingdom, they soon brought matters to bear, to the surprize of all men. The coin was almost instantly circulated among them again, and the minds of people quieted.

The two former Campaigns his Majesty had braved the enemy, but was now constrained to act on the defensive. Several causes had concurred to this ; for first the Duke of *Savoy* had been obliged to clap up a peace with *France* the last winter, which enabled the *French* King to send a much greater army into the *Netherlands* this year than formerly ; then on the discovery of the *Assassination* plot, several of our *British* Regiments had been ordered for *England*, which still continued there ; but the greatest misfortune of all was the want of money. The Parliament indeed had always granted sufficient sums for carrying on the war ; but the opposite party in the House still found means to clog the Funds, and place them on remote payments ; this

1696. of necessity made them fall short; for as they were not paid in due time, the nation run yearly in debt, and consequently arrears became due to the Army; infomuch that some of our auxiliary Troops refused to take the field, till they were paid what was due to them. Then the new modeling of the coin added much to the scarcity of money, and it was with much difficulty the King could take the field at the same time with the enemy. However though *Villeroy's* army much out-numbered ours, yet he never attempted any thing, but contented himself with lying encamped with the gros of his army on the plains of *Cambron*, while *Bouffliers* with the other part encamped at *Rosse-laar*.

The King and the Elector encamped with the gros of the army at *Hall*, in order to cover *Brussels* and that part of the country; and Prince *Vaudemont* with the rest of the army encamped along the canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges* to oppose *Bouffliers*. Thus both Armies lay fronting each other, during the whole Campaign, without attempting any thing on either side. This looked as if both parties grew weary of this long and bloody war. In the beginning of *October* both Armies broke up, and went into Winter Quarters, and soon after a treaty of peace was set on foot at *Ryswick*.

1697. In the beginning of *May* both Armies took the field, the enemy being much more numerous this year than the last. Old *Lewis* out of a bravado, sent three of his Top-Mareschals to command this powerful army, expecting to gain some extraordinary advantage over the Allies, which might oblige them to make peace with him on his own terms. These were *Villeroy*, *Catinat*, (who had been employed in *Italy* against the Duke of *Savoy*) and *Bouffliers*, and they encamped with their whole army on the plains of *Cambron*.

The

The King, who had little more than half their number, encamped at *Bois-Signior-Isface*, about five leagues from the enemy; and well knowing of what consequence it must be, should they get an advantage over him at this critical juncture, was obliged to keep a number of spies continually plying backward and forward, lest he should be surprized by any sudden movement. If any thing of this kind should happen, he knew the *French* Plenipo's at *Ryswick*, would become very uppish on it; and as they expected it daily, they were very dilatory in their negotiations.

About the beginning of *May* the three Marshals decamped on a sudden, and advanced toward the King; he having timely notice thereof decamped also, and retired towards *Promel*: But as we were just come to our ground, and about to pitch our camp, he had an account that the enemy had turned short, and were on a full march toward *Brussels*; whereupon the King ordered the Army to march with all the expedition we could that way, so by marching night and day through the wood of *Soignies*, we arrived at *Brussels* some hours before the enemy, and took up the strong camp of *Anderlecht*, where we fell to work in throwing up a strong intrenchment with several redoubts, which effectually secured both the Army and Town.

The enemy finding themselves disappointed in their design on *Brussels*, stopt short at *Hall*; and to let the world see that they would do something, they sent a detachment to lay siege to *Aeth*, though they very well knew, that by the time they could take it, a peace must be concluded, and that then it must be given up again. However it was a handle for the *French* to boast, that their King gave Peace to *Europe*, when it was in his power to carry on the War, and the Allies not able to oppose him.

1697.

When the *French* Plenipo's found that their Marshals had failed in their design on *Brussels*, they soon came into a peace; and by the time that *Aeth* was taken, all things were agreed on, except some particulars relating to King *James*. These were referred to the King and *Villeroy*, to be settled in camp; upon which his Majesty appointed the Earl of *Portland*, and *Villeroy* the Marshal *Bouffiers*, to meet between both Armies, and settle the matter. They came to an agreement at the third meeting, and so ended this War.

In the month of *September* both Armies quitted the field. Our *British* Troops were quartered in *Ghent* and *Bruges*, till transports arrived to carry us home. It is worth observing how great a number of Troops were quartered in the single town of *Ghent* at this time, and the affair was so happily conducted, that the burthen on the inhabitants was very inconsiderable. This was owing to the contrivance of a poor button-maker, who made a fortune by it. The number was as follows,

17 Regiments of Horse and Dragoons,	05010
28 Regiments of Foot,	24050
The <i>British</i> and <i>Spanish</i> Trains of Artillery.	00590

29650

Note, not half of them *British*.

The transports being arrived at *Ostend*, our Regiment, with the Troops designed for *Ireland*, marched thither. We sailed on the tenth of *December*, every ship having orders to make for *Cork*, but standing too much to the Southward, we lost our course, and upon making land, found it to be the old head of *Kinsale*. The weather being hazy we dared not venture in, so stood out to sea; and having beat about the coast two nights and two days, with great difficulty we put into *Bantry* bay, where we landed on the 24th of *December*. From thence

thence we marched to *Cork*, and joined the rest of our Regiment, and there we quartered that winter. 1697.

Soon after our landing a great reduction was made in the Army, several intire Regiments were broke, as also three Companies of those that stood; each Company being reduced to two Serjeants, two Corporals, one Drum, and 34 private Men. In the month of *June* 1698, I married near *Cork*. The *August* following the Regiment marched to *Waterford*, in 1699 we marched to *Dublin*, and in 1700 to *Charles-fort* near *Kinsale*. And this year *Charles* the Second of *Spain* dying without issue, another war broke out.

In the month of *June* our Regiment with eleven more, all foot, embarked at *Cork*, on board a squadron of men of War commanded by Admiral *Hopson*. We landed in *Holland* soon after, and our Regiment was quartered at *Huesden*. Upon the breaking out of the War, all Regiments had orders to fill up and to compleat the former establishment; and on this occasion I was made Lieutenant. 1701.

In the beginning of *August* the King came over to *Holland*, and brought with him the Earl of *Marlborough*, whom he made General in chief of the *British* forces next to himself; and as he very well knew the capacity of the man, he introduced him as his Ambassador Extraordinary to the *States-General*, recommended him to them in a particular manner, and advised them to have great regard to his counsels. All the *British* forces that were then arrived in *Holland*, were reviewed by his Majesty at *Rossendal* near *Breda*, which was the last review he made, and soon after he returned to *England*.

In the month of *September* King *James* the Second of *England* died at *St. Germain*s in *France*; a remarkable instance of the instability of human affairs!

his

1701.

his bigotry to the *Romish* religion, and a desire of ruling after an absolute arbitrary manner, lost him three Kingdoms. This last was a passion inherent in the whole *Stuart* race, and yet they had neither resolution nor conduct to carry them through their despotick schemes. Hence it was, that almost all their reigns were a continued scene of distress, both to themselves and their Kingdoms.

On the fatal eighth of *March* following, died the great King *William*, whose name ought to be wrote in our *British* annals, in letters of gold. A Prince whom Providence had raised up, not only to restore and to support our Religion and Liberties in particular : But also to check the pride and ambition of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, who had combined with King *James* to enslave all *Europe*. And indeed, considering the infinite hazards and difficulties he passed through, even from his cradle, the plots that had been made against his sacred life ; both at home and abroad, and the infinite dangers he was exposed to in the field : He seems, all along, to have been the care of a special and peculiar Providence, which had determined to preserve him, until he had effected the great and glorious Work that had been allotted him. It was singularly providential in particular, that his life was preserved until he had formed a second *Grand Alliance* against that aspiring Monarch, who, contrary to the sacred ties of Treaties, had placed his grandson *Philip* on the *Spanish* throne ; by which accession of power, he was in a fairer way than ever, of accomplishing his long-projected scheme of *Universal* Monarchy.

When he found himself in a declining state of health, and was sensible of his approaching death, he well knowing, as has been said, the capacity of the man, placed the Earl of *Marlborough* at the head of the *British* affairs, made him General of his Forces, and let him into the whole affair of the
Confe-

Confederacy. But would you know the heart and soul of that great man, read it in his last memorable speech to the *British* Parliament, (dictated by himself, as were all his speeches) when he had put every thing in a right channel for carrying on the war. 1701.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ I Promise my self you are met together full of the
“ Just sense of the common danger of *Europe*,
“ and that resentment of the late proceeding of the
“ *French* King, which has been so fully and uni-
“ versally expressed in the loyal and seasonable
“ Addresses of my people.

“ The owning and setting up the pretended
“ Prince of *Wales* for King of *England*, is not on-
“ ly the highest indignity offered to me and the
“ whole nation, but does so nearly concern every
“ man, who has a regard for the *Protestant* Reli-
“ gion, or the present and future quiet and happi-
“ ness of your country, that I need not press you
“ to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider what
“ further effectual means may be used, for se-
“ curing the succession of the Crown in the *Pro-*
“ *testant* line, and extinguishing the hopes of all
“ Pretenders, and their open or secret abettors.

“ By the *French* King's placing his grandson on
“ the Throne of *Spain*, he is in a condition to op-
“ press the rest of *Europe*, unless speedy and ef-
“ fectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he
“ is become the real Master of the whole *Spanish*
“ Monarchy; he has made it to be intirely depending
“ on *France*, and disposes of it as of his own do-
“ minions; and by that means he has surrounded
“ his neighbours in such a manner, that though
“ the name of peace may be said to continue, yet
“ they are put to the expence and inconveniencies
“ of war. This must affect *England* in the nearest
“ and

1701. " and most sensible manner, in respect to our
 " trade, which will soon become precarious in all
 " the valuable branches of it ; in respect to our
 " peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope
 " should long continue ; and in respect to that
 " part which *England* ought to have, in the pre-
 " servation of the liberty of *Europe*.

" In order to obviate the general calamity with
 " which the rest of Christendom is threatened by
 " this exorbitant power of *France*, I have conclu-
 " ded several alliances, according to encourage-
 " ment given me by both Houses of Parliament ;
 " which I will direct shall be laid before you, and
 " which I do not doubt, you will enable me to
 " make good. There are some other treaties still
 " depending, that shall be likewise communicated
 " to you, as soon as they are perfected.

" It is fit I should tell you, the eyes of all *Eu-
 rope* are upon this Parliament ; all matters are
 " at a stand, till your resolutions are known, and
 " therefore no time ought to be lost.

" You have yet an opportunity, by God's bles-
 " sing, to secure to you and your posterity, the
 " quiet enjoyment of your religion and liber-
 " ties, if you are not wanting to your selves, but
 " will exert the antient vigour of the *English* na-
 " tion : But I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if
 " you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have
 " no reason to hope for another. In order to do
 " your part, it will be necessary to have a great
 " strength at sea, and to provide for the se-
 " curity of our ships in harbour ; and also, that
 " there be such a force at land, as is expected, in
 " proportion to the forces of our allies.

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons*, I do
 " recommend these matters to you, with that con-
 " cern and earnestness, which their importance re-
 " quires : At the same time I cannot but press
 " you to take care of the publick Credit, which
 " cannot

“ cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that 1701.

“ Maxim, that they shall never be losers, who
“ trust to a Parliamentary security.

“ It is always with regret, when I do ask aids of
“ my People ; but you will observe that I desire
“ nothing which relates to any personal expence
“ of mine ; I am only pressing you to do all you
“ can for your own safety and honour, at so critical
“ and dangerous a time ; and am willing that
“ what is given, shall be wholly appropriated to
“ the purposes for which it is intended.

“ And since I am speaking on this head, I
“ think it proper to put you in mind, that during
“ the late War, I ordered the accounts to be laid
“ yearly before the Parliament, and also gave my
“ assent to several bills for taking the publick accounts, that my Subjects might have satisfaction
“ how the money given for the War was applied ;
“ and I am willing that matter may be put in any
“ farther way of Examination, that it may appear
“ whether there were any misapplications and mis-
“ managements, or whether the debt that remains
“ upon us, has really arisen from the shortness of
“ the Supplies, or the deficiency of the Funds.

“ I have already told you how necessary dis-
“ patch will be for carrying on that great publick
“ business, whereon our safety, and all that is valu-
“ able to us depends. I hope what time can be
“ spared, will be employed about those other very
“ desirable things, which I have so often recom-
“ mended to you from the Throne ; I mean the
“ forming some good Bills for employing the
“ Poor, for encouraging Trade, and the further
“ suppressing of Vice.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I hope you are come
“ together determined to avoid all manner of dis-
“ putes and differences, and resolved to act with
“ a general and hearty concurrence, for promoting
“ the

1701.

“ the common Cause ; which alone can make this
 “ a happy Session.

“ I should think it as great a blessing as could
 “ befall *England*, if I could observe you as much
 “ inclined to lay aside, those unhappy, fatal Ani-
 “ mosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am
 “ disposed to make all my Subjects safe and easy,
 “ as to any, even the highest Offences, committed
 “ against me.

“ Let me conjure you to disappoint the only
 “ hopes of our enemies, by your Unanimity. I
 “ have shewn, and will always shew how desirous
 “ I am to be the common Father of all my
 “ People: Do you in like manner lay aside all
 “ parties and divisions ; let there be no other
 “ distinction heard of among us for the future,
 “ but of those who are for the *Protestant* religion,
 “ and the present Establishment, and of those
 “ who mean a *Popish* Prince, and a *French* Go-
 “ vernment.

“ I will only add this, if you do in good earnest
 “ desire to see *England* hold the ballance of *Eu-*
 “ *rope*, and to be indeed at the head of the *Pro-*
 “ *testant* interest, it will appear by your right im-
 “ proving the present opportunity.”

This Speech had such an effect on both Houses of Parliament, that they unanimously agreed to every thing his Majesty proposed to them ; and being truly sensible of their great danger, and of the declining state of the King, they immediately set themselves to work, prepared several valuable Bills for the Royal Assent, which he signed with great pleasure, and by the fatal eighth of *March* 1701-2, had put every thing in a right channel for carrying on a vigorous War.

1702.

Queen *Ann* being seated on the *British* Throne, continued the deceased King's Ministry to a man (a few of her Household only excepted). She continued the same Parliament, confirmed the Alliances

the

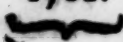
1702.

the King had made, and pursued the same schemes and measures, which he had formed. She made her Royal Consort Prince *George of Denmark*, Lord High Admiral, and Generalissimo of all her Forces by sea and land. She also appointed the Earl of *Marlborough* Captain-General of all her land Forces, and sent him to *Holland* in quality of her Ambassador Extraordinary, to notify the King's death, and to consult on measures for carrying on an offensive War in the *Netherlands*.

I am now entering upon the transactions of a second War, the cause whereof was this; that the *French* King contrary to the faith of treaties had placed his Grandson on the *Spanish* Throne. This being done, he soon found means to bring over to his interest, the two ungrateful Brothers, the Electors of *Bavaria*, and *Cologne*. The first had been made Governour of the *Spanish* *Netherlands*, by the means of King *William* and the Allies: Yet on this occasion he received *French* Troops into all his Garisons, and made all those of the *Dutch* that were in them prisoners; for which good piece of service the *French* King promised to give him all his assistance, to raise him to the *Imperial* Throne.

The Elector of *Cologne* had also been promoted to that Electorate by the interest of the Allies, and had been made Bishop of *Liege* in opposition to the *French* King, who used all his endeavours in favour of the Archbishop of *Furstenburg*: Yet he also received *French* Troops into all his Garisons, except *Cologne*, where the Canons of the city refused to receive either him or them. The *French* King kept the *Dutch* Troops prisoners, until the States had acknowledged *Philip*, King of *Spain*: But as soon as their troops returned, they broke through that acknowledgment, and declared war against the two Crowns.

The first thing the Confederates undertook in the *Netherlands* was the siege of *Keyserswaert*, a Fortress

1702.  trefs belonging to the Electorate of *Cologne*, but garisoned by the *French*. It lies close on the *German* side of the *Rhine*, three leagues above *Cleves*. The siege was formed in the month of *April* by the troops of *Prussia*, *Hanover*, *Hesse*, and some *Dutch*, commanded by the Prince *Nassau Sarbruck*; whereupon the *French* King sent the Duke of *Burgundy* and Marechal *Bouffliers*, with an Army of something more than 60,000 to raise the siege. They incamped on the hither-side of the *Rhine*, but dared not venture to pass the river; however they found means to prolong the siege, by sending fresh men in boats every night to the besieged, and bringing back their wounded.

When the *French* had marched up into these parts, the Earl of *Atblone* took the field with about 24,000, and incamped three leagues beyond *Nimeguen*, near *Cranenburg*, in order to cover this part of the country. In this small army was our *British* Infantry, the Horse being still in quarters.

The Duke of *Burgundy* and Marechal *Bouffliers* finding that they could not prevent *Keyserswaert* from falling into the hands of the Allies, had formed a scheme to cut off *Atblone*. The two armies were but five leagues distant from each other, but then we had a large thick wood in our front, which they could not possibly march through; wherefore they divided their army, and upon beating Tattoo, decamped on a sudden; the Duke of *Burgundy* marching with the right wing of the army round by the way of *Cleves*, and *Bouffliers* with the left round by *Gennep*. They continued marching all that night, and the next day, with design that both wings should cut between us and *Nimeguen*. Had they succeeded in this, not a man of our small Army could have escaped; all must either have been killed or taken. At the same time *Nimeguen* must also have fallen into their hands, which

which would have opened them a way into the very heart of the Province of *Holland*, and been a fatal blow to the Allies at this time. 1702.

They carried on their march so privately, that our General had not the least notice of it, till noon next day; and he instantly gave orders to strike our Camp and march. This surprized us not a little, more especially as many of us had sent our horses to *Nimeguen* for forage, and for want of them were obliged to leave our tents and baggage behind us: But expresses were sent after them, with orders to throw away their forage, and bring off our tents and baggage, which they luckily effected, and were at *Nimeguen* before us. We continued marching all night, but were obliged to take a considerable round, in order to leave the great road for the artillery and baggage. By day-light, we were within less than a league of *Nimeguen*, at which time the enemy's Horse began to appear on both sides of us. This made us mend our pace, and they pushed forward to try if they could get between us and the town. Some of their Dragoons came so near, as to make a push at the *Dutch* Foot, which put them in some disorder: But the next Regiments to them facing about, fired upon them, and made them scour back. At length we arrived safe within the outworks of *Nimeguen*. My Lord *Atblone* with the Horse kept in the rear of the Foot, and behaved with great conduct and bravery: But was much censured for not having better intelligence; for half an hour more would have cut us all to pieces.

The Governour was an older General than *Atblone*, and was disgusted that the other had been made a Veldt-Mareschal over his head; and on this occasion, there was some reason to suspect he had been tampering with the enemy; for though he saw them close at our heels, within half cannon-shot of the town, yet he had not a Cannon mounted

1702. on all the ramparts ; nor could the Burghers obtain the keys of the stores, but were obliged to break them open, to draw the Cannon up to the Ramparts, and to bring the Powder and Ball on their backs. When this was done, they fired like fury on the enemy, and made them retire immediately ; otherwise as their Foot was just come up, it was believed they would have attacked us in those noble advanced works, which had been made there during the short interval of the last Peace, by the famous Engineer *Coborn*. He, as it were, foresaw what had now happened ; and it was to these very works that we owed our preservation. Whether the Governour was faulty or not, I shall not pretend to say : But it is most certain that the *States* sent for him in a short time, and he was never heard of after.

The enemy incamped about a league from us, where they staid two nights only, and then marched back to *Cleves*. Here they continued destroying the fine improvements of that place, until *Keyserfwaert* surrendered, which it did in a few days. Whereupon they marched, and took up the strong camp of *Gennep*, having the Wood of *Cranenburg* on their right, the river *Meuse* on their left, and a deep swampy river in their front. Here they proposed to continue while they could meet with forage ; more especially as this post covered the Garisons they had on the *Meuse*.

Upon the surrender of *Keyserfwaert*, the Prince of *Nassau* marched with about 14,000 *Prussians*, &c. up the *Rhine*, to clear that river of all the *French* Garisons as high as *Cologne* ; and the remaining part of these Troops came and joined us at *Nimeguen*.

About the end of *June* the Earl of *Marlborough* came and took upon him the command of the confederate Army in the *Netherlands*. Upon a review he found them to be compleat 70,000, well appointed

pointed in all respects. The second day after he reviewed them, he marched directly up to the enemy, and incamped at *Duckenburg*, within two leagues of them, having his Right close to the *Meuse*.

Now my Lord *Marlborough*, who never had the command of such an Army before, knew very well that the eyes of all the Confederates were upon him ; more especially those of the *States General*. They in compliment to the Queen of *England*, had given him the command of their Army ; and even the safety of their Country depended in a great measure on his conduct. However, that wise State, even in the late King's time, (in whom they placed all the confidence imaginable) always sent into the field with him, two of the most experienced of their Council of State, who were to be consulted upon all occasions. They therefore sent at this time with the Lord *Marlborough*, the Baron *de Heyd*, and the Heer *Guildermalson* ; which his Lordship could not take amiss, since he knew it had been their constant practice.

My Lord saw that, at his first setting out, it was not very consistent with his honour to lie idle ; and finding the enemy resolved on keeping their strong camp, where there was no coming at them : He formed a scheme which obliged them to quit their camp and dance after him. In order to this he caused three bridges to be laid over the *Meuse*, under pretence of supplying his camp with forage from the other side : But the very evening the bridges were finished, he decamped on a sudden, passed the river, and continued marching all that night, and till noon the next day, at which time he came up with the Castle of *Gravenbruck*. It was a small frontier garison belonging to the enemy, in which were about 300 men. It held out about three hours, and then surrendered at discretion. From hence we continued our march to *Hubertskill*,

1702. about eight leagues from the place where we passed the *Meuse*; and by this means we were between the enemy and home.

This sudden march was no small surprize to the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Bouffliers*. They knew if they fought us, it must be at great disadvantage, and yet could not tell how to get home without it. Early next morning they decamped, but were obliged to keep on the same side of the river, till they came within two leagues of *Venlo*. Here they must either pass it, or run the hazard of a long round about march, which would give Lord *Marlborough* an opportunity of becoming master of their lines, or of gaining some other considerable advantage over them. At this place therefore they passed the river, and incamped within less than three leagues of us. They were yet in great perplexity how they should pass by us, for we were just between them and home, and they had no way homeward but by marching over a Heath within half a league of our Camp.

To cover their design, they made a grand forage, the morning after they had passed the river; this looked as if they designed to continue some time in that Camp. They had also sent an express to Count *Tallard*, (who commanded a body of 12,000 men, that were left to cover their lines) to draw toward our Right, in order to facilitate their passing by us. The Lord *Marlborough* immediately judged what they designed by their grand forage; whereupon that very evening he ordered the Army to strike their tents, and send them with all their baggage to *Gravenbruck*. He ordered the Army also to lie on their arms all night, to be in readiness to fall on the enemy next morning as they passed the Heath; and he had likewise made a disposition for attacking *Tallard*, in case he should attempt any thing on our Right. As his Lordship judged the thing so it happened; for the enemy

1702.

my upon beating *Tattoo* decamped, and marched all night with the utmost expedition. By the time it was day, their front had entered the Heath, and my Lord *Marlborough* had his men under arms, and just ready to march, when the Field-deputies came to him, and prayed him to desist. This greatly surprized him, as they had agreed to his scheme the night before: But being a Man of great temper and prudence, and being determined not to do any thing this first campaign without their approbation, at their earnest intreaty he desisted. Whereupon the tents and baggage were sent for, and the Army pitched their Camp again. However, he desired they would ride out with him to see the enemy pass the Heath, which they and most of the General Officers did, and saw them hurrying over it in the greatest confusion and disorder imaginable; upon this they all acknowledged, that they had lost a fair opportunity of giving the enemy a fatal blow. By this means did young *Burgundy* and *Bouffiers* escape: But being joined by *Tallard*, they were more in number than we, and then they faced about, and incamped within two leagues of us; however, they took care to keep within the inclosed grounds, and next day we altered the aspect of our Camp in order to front them.

Here we were obliged to wait till our bread-wagons, which were at the *Grave*, waiting for an Escort, should come up. For this purpose General *Obdam* was sent off with a detachment of 16,000 men. Our Regiment belonged to one Brigade of this detachment, which was commanded by the Lord *Cutts*, and our Colonel, Brigadier *Hamilton*. When the enemy observed us marching toward the *Grave*, they made a movement that way, expecting to meet with an opportunity of falling upon us: This was what my Lord *Marlborough* expected, and thereupon he ordered the Army to move gently after the detachment. The enemy

1702. perceiving this, stopt short within the inclosures, and suffered *Obdam* to pass with the convoy. My Lord *Marlborough* finding that neither the enemy nor the Field-deputies were inclined to come to an engagement, used all proper methods to draw them into one insensibly. With this view he ordered the Army, as they were on the long march, to face about, and march over the great Heath of *Dunderf-laugh* toward *Peer*, leaving *Obdam* with the convoy to follow at some distance. This he did to draw the enemy out of their inclosures into the Heath, in order to fall upon *Obdam*: The bait took, and out they came at the very place he expected, and were preparing to fall upon him. My Lord, who had his eye that way, halted on a sudden, and stretched the Army back toward *Obdam*. The enemy did not expect we could have been ranged in opposition to them so suddenly, and now to retire to the inclosures must expose their rear to great danger; they therefore put on the best face they could, and drew up in order of battle. It was on the 12th of *August*, O. S. about five in the afternoon, when both Armies were drawn up on a large Heath, within less than half an *English* mile of each other; and it was thought impossible for us to part without blows.

The Cannon on both sides fired with great fury, and killed a number of men. Here I narrowly escaped a Cannon-ball, which I plainly saw coming directly to me, but by stepping nimbly aside, had the good fortune to avoid it. The Field-deputies finding themselves insensibly led into this scrape, came to his Lordship, just as he was giving orders to begin the battle, and begged him to forbear till morning. My Lord (though it was somewhat late) desired that this second opportunity might not be lost, and told them the enemy would not stay till morning; however, in the end they prevailed on him to desist; so we lay on our arms all night, expect-

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ing to begin the battle as soon as it was day. But behold, when day came, there was not an enemy to be seen, except a few squadrons on the other side the inclosures, bringing up their rear; and these made not the least halt, until they came within their lines. Soon after *Tallard* marched away to the *Rhine* with the Troops under his command, the *Germans* having at this time laid siege to *Landau*.

The Field-deputies had opposed our coming to a battle, first, because their instructions were to avoid it, till such time as the *Maese* was cleared of the *French* Garisons up to *Maestricht*; and also because they knew not how the Lord *Marlborough* might behave in a general engagement. These things his Lordship had also considered, and therefore bore the disappointment with great temper, though he saw plainly he had lost great opportunities of attacking the enemy to advantage. The *French* having now marched off, he was at liberty to clear the *Maese* of their Garisons, and ordered General *Obdam* to march with his detachment, and lay siege to *Venlo*, while he marched with the grand Army, and incamped near *Maestricht* to cover the Besiegers.

On the 16th of *August*, *Obdam* came before *Venlo*, in order to attack fort *St. Michael*, which covered the town on this side, while Prince *Nassau* (who had cleared the *Rhine* of the *French*) came and incamped the next day on the other side of the river to carry on the attack of the town, which lay altogether on that side. On the 20th the trenches were opened on both sides; and as there happened a very remarkable affair on our side, in which our Regiment in particular was chiefly concerned, I shall be more exact in relating it.

Fort *St. Michael* was a regular fortification of five Bastions, &c. We had carried on our approaches against it, until we came to the foot of the Glacis; at which time orders were given for

1702. attacking the Covert-way, and driving the enemy from thence, in order to make a lodgment on the top of the Glacis, and so join the three attacks by a particular line. It happened that our Regiment mounted the trenches of the *British* attack this morning. About noon the Grenadiers and 300 men of the other three Regiments of our Brigade, joined us soon after; the Lord *Cutts*, Brigadier *Hamilton*, and several young Noblemen came to see the attack made.

The Lord *Cutts* sent for all the Officers, and told them, that the design of the attack was only to drive the enemy from the Covert-way, that they might not disturb the workmen in making their lodgment; however, if they found them give way with precipitation, we were to jump into the Covert-way, and pursue them, let the consequence be what it would. We all thought these were very rash orders, contrary both to the rules of war, and the design of the thing.

About four in the afternoon the signal was given, and according to our orders, we rushed up to the Covert-way; the enemy gave us one scattering fire only, and away they ran: We jumped into the Covert-way, and ran after them: They made to a Ravelin, which covered the Curtain of the Fort, in which were a Captain and sixty men: We seeing them get into the Ravelin, pursued them, got in with them, and soon put most of them to the sword. They that escaped us, fled over a small wooden bridge, that led over the Mote to the Fort; and here like mad-men without fear or wit, we pursued them over that tottering bridge, exposed to the fire of the great and small shot of the body of the Fort. However, we got over the Fausse-braye, where we had nothing for it, but to take the Fort or die. They that fled before us, climbed up by the long grass, that grew out of the Fort, so we climbed after them. Here we were

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hard put to it, to pull out the Pallisades, which pointed down upon us from the Parapet; and was it not for the great surprize and consternation of those within, we could never have surmounted this very point: But as soon as they saw us at this work, they quitted the Rampart, and retired down to the Parade in the body of the Fort, where they laid down their arms, and cried for quarter, which was readily granted them.

Thus were the unaccountable orders of Lord *Cutts* as unaccountably executed, to the great surprize of the whole Army, and even of our selves, when we came to reflect on what we had done. However, had not several unforeseen accidents concurred, not a man of us could have escaped. In particular, when we had penetrated as far as the Wooden Bridge, had the Officer drawn the loose plank after him, as he ought (for they were laid loose for that very purpose), we must all have fallen into the Mote, which was ten feet deep in water; and again, when we had passed the Bridge, which was 120 feet in length, and had got on the Fausse-braye, had there been six or eight feet of stone or brick under the sodd work (which is always practised in our modern Fortifications), or had the Governour kept the grass, by the help of which we climbed, close mowed, as he ought to have done, what must have been our fate? But every thing fell out fortunately, and Lord *Cutts*'s orders were crowned with success. In the end his Lordship had the glory of the whole action, though he never stirred out of the trenches till all was over. The Garison consisted of 1500 men, which was more than the party that attacked them. They had about 100 killed and wounded; and what was strange, we had but 27 killed, and about as many wounded.

This affair was the occasion of another almost as surprizing. Two days after, an Express came to Prince

1702.

Landau was taken; whereupon he ordered the Army on both sides of the River, to draw down as near the Town as they could, in order to fire three rounds for the taking of *Landau*. The Cannon also of all the Batteries, the Mortars and Corners loaden with shot, were ordered to fire with the Troops, into the Town. When the Garison and inhabitants saw us drawing down on all sides, they judged it was with a design of making such an attack on the Town, as that we had made on the Fort. This struck such a terror into them, that the Magistrates, in the greatest consternation imaginable, begged the Governour to capitulate, and not suffer them all to be put to the sword. By this time the first round of all our Batteries began to fire, and the small shot of the Army followed, which so affrighted them, that men, women, and children, came flocking on the Ramparts with white cloths in their hands, crying, *Mercy, Mercy, Quarter, Quarter*; and the Governour, in as great a consternation as the rest, sent out an Officer to the Prince to desire a capitulation, which was immediately granted. As we had other sieges to carry on this season, the Prince allowed them honourable terms.

The enemy marched out two days after, and the day following *Obdam* passed the *Maese*, and joined the Prince on his march up the River to *Ruremond*; to which place we laid siege, and it surrendered in fourteen days. Within this time my Lord *Marlborough* for dispatch, had sent detachments from the grand Army, which took *Steven-swaert*, and *Maseik*, and this cleared the *Maese* up to *Maeſtricht*.

After this the whole army joined on *Petersberg*, a league above *Maeſtricht*, from whence we marched next day to *Liege*. *Burgundy* was now returned to Court, and *Bouffliers*, who commanded in his absence,

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absence, had drawn the *French* army to this place, 1702. in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Allies this year : But at the approach of our Army, he retired within his lines, leaving eleven Battalions in the Citadel, and two in the Fort of the Charter-house. The *Maeſe* runs through the Town, and this Fort lies on the left ſide of the River.

The City of *Liege* being a defenceleſs place, the Magiſtrates opened their gates, and received a Garriſon of our Troops. It was the firſt of *October*, O. S. when we ſat down before the Citadel, and by the eleventh a breach was made fit to be ſtormed. Whereupon my Lord *Marlborough* ſent to the Governour, to let him know, he ſhould have honourable terms, if he ſurrendered immediately. The Governour answered, it would be time enough a month hence, to treat of a Surrender. Next day therefore, being the 12th of *October* (the very day the Duke of *Ormond* attacked the *Spaniſh* Gallies at *Vigo*), every thing was prepared for a general aſſault. The attack was made about twelve o' clock, and in leſs than an hour we carried it ſword in hand, with a very inconfiderable loſs on our ſide. Our men gave no quarter for ſome time, ſo that the greater part of the Garriſon was cut to pieces. They in the Charter-house, being eye-witneſſes of the fate of the Citadel, ſurrendered next day. They had liberty to march out with their hands in their pockets, and every man was to go where he pleaſed, by which means the Officers carried but few of them home.

Thus ended the Lord *Marlborough's* firſt Campaign, which eſtabliſhed his character among the Allies, and gave great ſatisfaction, in particular to the *States-General* ; for not only the Field deputies, but even the Earl of *Athlone* (who at firſt diſputed the Command with him), and all their General Officers gave an extraordinary character of him.

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1702.

In a few days after the reduction of *Liege*, all the *British* Troops were ordered back to *Holland*, and the rest of the Army disposed into proper quarters. The Lord *Marlborough* and the Field-deputies went down the *Maese* in their Yacht; a Lieutenant and 40 men, together with a party of Horse being ordered to escort them. The Lieutenant stopt short at *Venlo*, thinking they were past danger, and the Horse lost their way in the night. In this situation they were, when a *French* party from *Guelders* came up with them about two leagues below *Venlo*, drew the boat to land, and made them all prisoners. The Field-deputies produced a pass from the Duke of *Burgundy*; and they not knowing the Lord *Marlborough*, and being more intent on booty than making prisoners, when they had received a handsome present, let them pass; and the next day they arrived at the *Hague*.

1703.

Her Majesty being highly pleased with the conduct of the Earl of *Marlborough*, this winter created him Duke of *Marlborough*. Early this spring his Grace came over, and having consulted with the *States-General*, concerning the operations of the campaign, he sent orders to the *Prussian*, *Hanoverian*, and *Hessian* Troops to assemble near *Bonn*; and thither he went soon after to see the siege, of that place, carried on with dispatch. He ordered the *British* and *Dutch* Troops to assemble near *Maestricht*, under the Veldt-Mareschal *D'Auverquerque*, *Atblone* being dead. The Duke formed the siege of *Bonn*, which surrendered in less than three weeks. By this the *Rhine* was cleared of the *French* from *Holland* up to *Philipsburg*. From *Bonn* the Duke marched to *Limburg*, which surrendered in a few days. While his Grace was employed in taking these places, the Marshals *Villeroy* and *Bouffliers* at the head of the *French* army, marched up to the Veldt-Mareschal, which obliged him to retire under the cannon of *Maestricht*, where

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where he intrenched himself. Notwithstanding this *Villeroy* advanced in order to attack us, and began to cannonade us with great fury; but the Cannon of the town, of our camp, and of the fort of *Petersberg*, soon made him weary of that work, and obliged him to retire; and upon hearing of the approach of the Duke, he made what haste he could to get within his lines.

As soon as the Duke had joined us, we marched directly up to their lines, and encamped at *Hanef* within a league of them. From hence he sent a detachment to take in *Huy*, which lies on the *Maese* half way between *Liege* and *Namur*. This was the last Town that remained to the ungrateful Elector of *Cologne*, who was now become a Pensioner of *France*, being turned out of his Electorate, as well as the Principality and Bishoprick of *Liege*, by the same powers that gave them to him.

Villeroy's Lines were prodigious strong, they extended from *Namur* to the *Scheld* below *Antwerp*, which surrounded the whole *Spanish Netherlands*; and the Duke finding he would not stir from behind them, made several marches and counter-marches, to try if he could meet with an opportunity of forcing them; but *Villeroy* kept such a watchful eye on all his motions, that he could make nothing of them. At length an affair happened, which drew both Armies toward *Antwerp*. Upon our taking the field, the *States* had ordered General *Obdam* with 12,000 of their Troops to guard the Lines which run from *Breda* to Fort *Lillo* on the *Scheld*. The *French* had also an equal number to guard their Lines in that quarter.

Now when *Villeroy* found that the Duke could not force his lines, he split off *Bouffliers* with 30,000 Men to join the *French* Troops near *Antwerp*, in order to fall upon *Obdam*. The Duke having an account of *Bouffliers's* march, immediately judged what his design was, and thereupon marched

1703. marched the Army that way ; but before we could come up, *Bouffliers* had attack'd *Obdam* at *Eckeren*, and after several repulses, at length broke into that part where *Obdam* commanded, and cut between him and the rest of his Troops. Upon this he concluded all was lost, and thereupon fled to *Breda*, from whence he gave the *States-General* a melancholy account of the affair. But notwithstanding this disadvantage, the Lieutenants-General *Slanenberg* and *Tilly* maintained their ground with great obstinacy, and still repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, until at length they were obliged to quit the attack, either party having suffered very considerably. As soon as the enemy drew off, *Slanenberg* and *Tilly* sent an Express to the *States*, with an account of the action, in which they supposed *Obdam* to be among the slain ; but he had assured them to the contrary a little before. However he never appeared in the Army afterward.

The day after the battle our Army arrived ; and *Villeroy* being joined by *Bouffliers*, drew out of his Lines, and declared he would give us battle. The Duke was very ready to take him at his word, and the next day advanced within half a league of him, being determin'd to attack him the morning following ; but *Villeroy* thought better of it, and stole back within his lines, before it was day. It was now about the middle of *October*, so both Armies broke up and went into quarters. Our Regiment had *Breda*, from whence in the beginning of *December*, we marched to *Bergen-op-zoom*, to reinforce that Garrison during the frost, and in the beginning of *February* returned to *Breda*. Soon after 300 men out of each *British* Regiment of Foot marched to *Maestricht*, where we did duty ; while the *Dutch* Infantry was throwing up a strong intrenchment on the height of *Petersberg*, which was

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of great use to them, the two succeeding Campaigns.

Before I enter on the detail of our *German* Campaign, I must premise, that the Elector of *Bavaria* aspired to the *Imperial* Dignity, that he was supported by the power of *France*, and that the *French* King early in the preceding year, had sent Mareschal *Villars* with 30,000 Men through the *Black forest* to his assistance. The Elector had 40,000 of his own subject Troops, and both these joined together, carried all before them that Campaign. But as the Elector's temper and the Mareschal's haughty spirit did not agree, *Villars* at his own request was recalled, and Mareschal *Marfin* sent in his stead; and the Elector being joined by him, did not doubt but he should be able to drive the Emperor out of his Capital this Campaign.

Now the Duke of *Marlborough* upon considering the state of the *Empire*, saw plainly, that unless something extraordinary was undertaken this year for its defence, the Elector of *Bavaria* would inevitably place himself on the *Imperial* Throne; and in that case he and *France* would give laws to *Europe*. Upon this he formed a bold and daring scheme, for marching a good body of Troops from the *Netherlands* to the *Danube*. He first communicated it to the Queen, and a few of the Privy-Council; then to such of the *States-General* as he could confide in; for the success of the undertaking depended in a great measure on the secrecy of it. In order to cover his design, he gave out that he would make this Campaign on the *Moselle*; and had ordered great Magazines of all manner of necessaries to be laid up at *Coblentz*, at which place the *Moselle* falls into the *Rhine*. This answered his purpose, for the Court of *France* made no doubt, but his designs lay that way; in consequence of which, they made great preparations to receive him on that side.

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1704.

The Duke arrived at the *Hague* early this spring; and soon after gave orders, for the Troops in these parts that were to act under him, to assemble at *Ruremond*. Accordingly our Garison of *Breda*, marched on the 28th of *April*, O. S. and on the 4th of *May* passed the *Maese* at *Ruremond*. From hence we marched to *Juliers*, where our Detachment from *Maestricht* joined us. Here the Duke reviewed all the Troops that had arrived. Those of *Great Britain* in particular, were nineteen Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, and fourteen Battalions of Foot, which amounted to 14,384 fighting men. From *Juliers* we marched through the Electorate of *Cologne*, and so on to *Coblentz*, where we halted two days, and were joined by the *Prussian* and *Hanoverian* Troops, that were in *British* pay.

Mareschal *Villeroy* by this time had arrived at *Treves* with the greater part of his Army from the *Netherlands*, to oppose the Duke in this quarter. This made the *Dutch* easy, for they were apprehensive, that on the Duke's marching from them, the *French* would over-run their whole country.

And now when we expected to march up the *Moselle*, to our surprize we passed that river over a stone bridge, and the *Rbine* over two bridges of boats, and proceeded on our march through the country of *Hesse-Cassel*, where we were joined by the hereditary Prince (now King of *Sweden*) with the Troops of that country; which made our Army 40,000 fighting men compleat.

When we had passed the *Rbine*, the Duke for the convenience of forage, advanced a day's march, and took his rout with the Horse, different from that of the Foot, which was left under the command of General *Churchill*. We frequently marched three, sometimes four days, successively, and halted

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ed a day. We generally began our march about three in the morning, proceeded about four leagues, or four and half each day, and reached our ground about nine. As we marched through the Countries of our Allies, Commissaries were appointed to furnish us with all manner of necessaries for man and horse; these were brought to the ground before we arrived, and the soldiers had nothing to do, but to pitch their tents, boil their kettles, and lie down to rest. Surely never was such a march carried on with more order and regularity, and with less fatigue both to man and horse. From the country of *Hesse*, we marched through that of *Nassau*, into the Electorate of *Mentz*, then through that of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, and through the *Palatinate* till we came to *Heydelberg*, where we halted three days; and now, and not before, was it publicly known that the Duke's design was against the Elector of *Bavaria*. It was so much a secret, that General *Churchill* (the Duke's Brother) knew nothing of the matter till this time; and *Villeroy's* constant attendance on our marches, shewed that the Court of *France* was as much in the dark as we were.

On the 16th of *June*, we joined the *Imperial* army at *Gingen*, and next day a grand Council of War was held at *Hepack*; in which were present the Prince of *Baden*, Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Prince of *Hesse*, the Prince of *Anbalt Dessau*, with several Generals of note. Here it was agreed that the Prince of *Baden*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* should act in conjunction, and command alternately; and that Prince *Eugene* should command on the *Rhine* against *Villeroy* and *Tallard*, who were now joined near *Strasburg*. It was observed that on the first interview between Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, they contracted an extraordinary

1704. extraordinary friendship for each other ; and it held to the last.

The day after this grand consultation, our two Generals made a review of their Army, and found it about 85,000. On the 20th we advanced toward the enemy, and incamped within sight of them; they having taken up the strong Camp of *Dillingen* on this side the *Danube*. Their Army was computed to be about 70,000, of these the Elector had detached 16,000, the evening before, under the Count *de Arco*, to post themselves on the hill of *Schelemburg*, in order to secure the pass of *Donawert*.

Our Generals finding the Elector and *Marfin* so strongly posted that there was no coming at them, decamped next morning, and directed their march toward *Donawert*. We incamped this night at *Hermendingen*, and the day following being the 22d of June, O. S. and the Dukes day of command, he marched by three in the morning at the head of thirty Squadrons, three *Imperial* Regiments of Grenadiers, and a detachment of 7000 Foot ; the whole Army marching close after them ; and as we marched off from the left, the *British* Troops led the march of the Army. The Duke was detained some hours at the river *Wrentz*, in repairing the bridge, and laying others for the army to pass ; by which means it was four o'clock, before he reached *Donawert*. From thence he saw the Count *de Arco*'s men hard at work in throwing up an intrenchment on the top of the hill of *Schelemburg*. As soon as the *British* troops were all come up, he formed a disposition for attacking them. The hill was in itself very steep and rough, and difficult to ascend : Beside which they had thrown up an intrenchment on the summit of it.

About six in the afternoon the *English* guards began the attack, the whole line going on at the same time. The thirty Squadrons kept in the rear of

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of the Foot, as close as the nature of the ground would permit. The enemy maintained their post with great resolution for an hour and ten minutes ; by which time the whole Army being come up, and supporting the attack, at length they gave way, and a terrible slaughter ensued, no quarter being given for a long time. Count *de Arco*, with the greater part of them made down the back of the hill to the *Danube*, where they had a bridge of boats : But this breaking under them, great numbers were drowned. The Count with a few others that were well mounted, saved themselves by swimming the river.

The loss of the enemy was computed to be about 7000 killed, 2000 drowned, and 3000 taken, with every thing they had. On our side also the loss was very great ; for we had about 6000 killed and wounded. When the Elector saw us pass his Camp at *Dillingen*, he passed the *Danube* and made what haste he could to succour *de Arco* : But he arrived only time enough to be a witness of his fate. Upon which he turned to the right, marched to *Augsburg*, and intrenched himself under the Cannon of that city, where he had laid up great stores of every thing. As he turned off, he sent orders to the Governour of *Donawert*, to set fire to the Magazines, and follow him to *Augsburg* : But the inhabitants found means to give our Generals notice of it ; and they immediately ordered bridges to be laid both above and below the Town, to prevent his retreat. When the Governour perceived this, he did not stay to execute his orders ; upon which the inhabitants opened their gates, and received a Garison of our Troops.

Our Generals having gained this important Pass on the *Danube*, passed the Army to the other side, and marched to the *Leck*, which is the boundary between *Suabia* and *Bavaria* ; and having passed this river also, we entered the Elector's dominions,

1704.

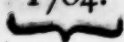
and came up to a small fortified town called *Rain*, which held out only four days. During this time orders were given to all the Regiments to send out parties to plunder and maroade the country, but not to burn any place. This was done with a design of bringing the Elector off from the *French* interest; and it had its effect so far, as that a Treaty was set on foot, which put a stop to our maroding. From *Rain* we marched to *Friedburg*, not a league from *Augsburg*, and as we were on a rising ground, we had from hence a fair view both of the Elector's camp and city: but yet we saw plainly that it was impossible to come either at one or the other.

This was the utmost extent of our march into *Germany*, which according to our Rout, was computed to be more than 600 *English* miles. We lay here about a month, during which time the Treaty was carried on with great hope of success: But it was all grimace in the Elector, and designed only to prevent the ruin of his country. For upon the defeat at *Schelemburg*, he instantly dispatched an express to *Villeroy*, to send him a strong Reinforcement, and insisted, that if he did not, he must be obliged to quit his Masters interest, and join with the Allies. Upon this *Villeroy* sent off the Marshal *Tallard* with sixty Squadrons and forty Battalions, all choice men; and marching with all the expedition he could, through the *Black Forrest*, was now arrived at *Ulm*, from whence he let the Elector know, that in two days he hoped to join him at *Lawingen*. Upon this he broke off the Treaty abruptly, and let our Generals know, that he would serve as a Dragoon under the King of *France*, rather than as General of the *Emperor's* Forces. This incensed our Generals to that degree, that a great number of Parties were sent out far and near, who burned and destroyed all before them; inso-

much,

much, that it was said there were 372 Towns, Villages, and Farm-houses, laid in ashes ; and it was a shocking sight to see the fine Country of *Bavaria*, all in a flame. The Elector was an eye-witness of the calamity he had brought upon his Country ; and as revenge is sweet, he resolved as soon as *Tallard* had joined him, to make a retaliation on the Country of *Wirtemberg*. Such are the effects of War, the innocent suffer for the guilty : But let those ambitious men, that occasion such things, take care how they will account for it another day. Certain it is that the Duke of *Marlborough* would not suffer any of the Troops, that were immediately under him, to go out on that burning command.

The day after this Conflagration, the Elector drew off from *Augsburg*, and joined *Tallard* at *Lawingen* ; and the same day our Generals marched back the way they came. On our second day's incampment, just as we were pitching our Tents, Prince *Eugene* came riding along our line, attended by two servants only, and rode directly to the Duke's quarters. He had attended *Tallard's* march from the *Rhine*, with 20,000 men, whom he left at the strong Camp of *Munster* under the command of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. When the Duke and he came to consult, it was soon agreed that unless something more material was done, before the Duke left the *Empire*, his great undertaking would avail nothing, and the Elector would carry all before him the next Campaign. If things should take this turn, the Duke well knew what must be his fate on his return to *England*, where he had many powerful enemies. They knew also that the Prince of *Baden* was a cautious old General, that he was not for fighting without great probability of success ; and that it was very necessary notwithstanding to give a bold and a de-

1704.  cative blow at that time ; whereupon they contrived it so, as to send the Prince to lay siege to *Ingolstadt* ; by which they were left at liberty to pursue their own schemes.

These were the results of these two great men, on whose courage and conduct the fate of *Europe* depended at this critical juncture. The Prince of *Baden* readily agreed to their scheme, and early next morning marched off for *Ingolstadt* with 20,000 *Imperialists*. Upon this Prince *Eugene* rode directly back to his Troops ; at the same time the Duke marched with the main body of the Army, and in two days joined him at *Munster*. On the day following they both rode out with the Picket-guard of Horse, to view the ground about *Hochstet*, in order to mark out a camp thereon : But as as they came within sight of it, they perceived the enemies Quarter-masters marking out a camp on the plain, and the Van of their Army entering into it ; upon which they stopped some time to observe their manner of incampment, and then returned with a resolution of giving them battle next day. As soon as they came to camp, they gave orders for striking our tents, packing up our baggage, and sending all away to the *Schelemburg* ; and that every man should prepare for battle.

We lay on our arms all night, and next day being the 2d of *August*, O. S. we marched by break of day in eight columns up to the enemy. The Duke received the holy Sacrament this morning at the hands of his Chaplain, Doctor *Hare*, and upon mounting his horse, he said, *This day I conquer or die*. A noble instance of the *Christian* and the *Hero* ! Our Army consisted of 181 Squadrons, and 67 Battalions.

We had upwards of three leagues to march to the enemy ; when we came in sight of them their whole camp was standing ; but as soon as they perceived us, they fired three cannon to call in their foragers ;

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gers; so little did they expect a visit from us this morning. They soon struck their camp, and sent their tents, baggage, and every thing of value to the town of *Hochstet*, which was about half an *English* mile in their rear; and then drew up in order of battle, being 163 Squadrons, and 83 Battalions. They therefore had 16 Battalions more than we, and we had 18 squadrons more than they. They had 120 cannon and mortars, and we 64; so near an equality were both Armies.

Prince *Eugene* with the *Imperialists* stretched away to our Right, and drew up opposite the Elector, and the greater part of the forces under *Marfin*; and the Duke of *Marlborough* drew up the forces he brought with him, opposite *Tallard* and the Right of *Marfin*. About eight o'clock we began to form our Lines; at which time the enemy set fire to such villages as might be a shelter to us, and the cannon on both sides fired with great fury. The first shot the enemy fired was at our Regiment, and it fell short; the second killed one man, which was the first blood drawn that day. When we began to form our Lines, the Elector, *Tallard*, and *Marfin* went up into the steeple of *Blenheim*, from whence they had a fair view of our Army. The Elector told *Tallard*, that *Marlborough* was drawing up the Troops he brought with him in order to attack him, and desired he would draw up his Troops close to the Morass, and not suffer a man to pass, but what came on the point of his Bayonets. *Marfin* was of the same opinion: But *Tallard*, a proud, conceited *Frenchman*, puffed up with the success of his former campaign (which shall be taken notice of in another place) thought the Elector took upon him to dictate to him; and told him, that that was not the way to obtain a compleat victory, which now offered; and that the utmost that could be made of it in their way, was only a drawn battle: Whereas he was for

1704. drawing up the Army at some distance from the Morafs; and then the more that came over to them, the more they should kill. The Elector told him, he had often been engaged with these Troops, and knew them well; and he insisted on it, that if he once suffered them to come over, he would find it a hard matter to drive them back. But all that he or *Marfin* could say, could not prevail on him to alter his opinion; so dreading the consequences of his obstinacy, they left him, much dissatisfied. He told them at parting, he saw plainly that that day's victory must be entirely owing to him.

The situation and disposition of the enemy was as follows: They had the *Danube* on their Right, close to which was the village of *Blenheim*: They had on their Left a large thick wood, with the village of *Lutzingen* close by it, from whence runs a rivulet, which empties itself into the *Danube* a little below *Blenheim*. This rivulet they had in their Front, which made the ground in most places about it swampy and marshy. The Elector and *Marfin* drew up their part of the Army close to the Morafs, and determined not to suffer a man to pass, but what should come on the points of their Bayonets. But *Tallard* made quite another sort of a disposition of his Troops; he posted in the village of *Blenheim* 28 Battallions and 12 Squadrons of Dragoons. There were two mills on the rivulet a little above *Blenheim*, in which he posted two Battalions; he had therefore but 10 Battalions in the field with him; and being joined by 20 Squadrons of *Marfin's*, he had 70 Squadrons, on whom was his great dependence. These and his 10 Battalions he drew up on the height of the plain, almost half an *English* mile from the Morafs. The village of *Auberclaw* lay partly on the Morafs toward our side, and was near their center; in it *Marfin* had posted 8 Battalions. Now these, with the troops in *Blenheim* and in the mills, were to march out as soon

as they saw the Duke pass the Morass, and fall on his rear, by which means *Tallard* was sure of having him in a trap between two fires. Now as the main part of this Battle was fought between the Duke and this mighty Marechal of *France*, I shall be very particular in describing it.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, a man of uncommon penetration and presence of mind, soon perceived *Tallard's* design; and thereupon ordered General *Churchill*, with 19 Battalions to attack the troops in *Blenheim*, and Lieutenant-General *Wood* with 8 Squadrons to support him. He also ordered the Prince of *Holstein-beck* with six Battalions to attack the village of *Auberclaw*, and two battalions to attack the mills. The Duke having thus secured his rear, a little before one ordered the signal to be made for attacking the villages and mills; at which time Brigadier *Rue* at the head of the *British* Guards, and two *British* Brigades, attacked those in *Blenheim*, but were repulsed, the Brigadier and a great many men being killed. At this time the rest of the Foot coming up, they renewed the charge; and those that had been repulsed, having soon rallied, returned to the charge, and drove the enemy from the skirts of the village, into the very heart of it. Here they had thrown up an intrenchment, within which they were pent up in so narrow a compass, that they had not room to draw up in any manner of order, or even to make use of their arms. Thereupon we drew up in great order about 80 paces from them, from whence we made several vain attempts to break in upon them, in which many brave men were lost to no purpose; and after all, we were obliged to remain where we first drew up. The enemy also made several attempts to come out upon us: But as they were necessarily thrown into confusion in getting over their trenches, so before they could form into any order for attacking us, we mowed them down with

1704. with our platoons in such numbers, that they were always obliged to retire with great loss ; and it was not possible for them to rush out upon us in a disorderly manner, without running upon the very points of our Bayonets. This great body of Troops therefore was of no further use to *Tallard*, being obliged to keep on the defensive, in expectation that he might come to relieve them.

Prince *Holstein-beck* was repulsed on his attack of *Auberclaw* : Yet, though he could not force the enemy from thence, he answered the Duke's intention however, in not suffering them to fall on his rear. They in the mills made but little resistance ; so setting them on fire they made off to *Tallard*, and joined the Battalions he had with him.

It may be presumed that the Lord *Marlborough* was not idle all this while. The very moment that the villages were attacked, he ordered Colonel *Palms* with three *British* Squadrons of Horse. To enter the Morass. These having passed it without any opposition, drew up at some distance from it. Upon which the Duke gave orders, that all the Troops should pass with the greatest expedition, while his Grace followed close after *Palms*. *Tallard*, as a man infatuated, stood looking on, without firing a shot great or small ; these formed their Lines as fast as they passed. At length *Tallard* seeing *Palms* advanced with his Squadrons some distance from our Lines, ordered out five Squadrons, (some said seven) to march down and cut *Palms's* Squadrons to pieces, and then retire. When the commanding Officer of these Squadrons had got clear of their Lines, he ordered the Squadron on his Right, and that on his Left to edge outward, and then march down till they came on a line with *Palms* ; at which time they were to wheel inward, and fall upon his flanks, while he charged him in front. *Palms* perceiving this, ordered Major *Oldfield*,
who

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who commanded the Squadron on his Right, and Major *Creed*, who commanded that on his Left, to wheel outward, and charge those Squadrons, that were coming down on them; and he, not in the least doubting but they would beat them, ordered them when they had done that, to wheel in upon the flanks of the other Squadrons that were coming upon him, while he charged them in front; and every thing succeeded accordingly. This was a great surprize to *Tallard*, who had placed such confidence in his Troops, that he verily thought there were not any on earth able to stand before them. And now in no small hurry, he ordered his Lines to advance, and charge the Duke, who by this time had all his Troops over, and his Lines formed.

Here was a fine plain without hedge or ditch, for the Cavalry on both sides to shew their bravery; for there were but few Foot to interpose, these being mostly engaged at the villages. *Tallard* seeing his five Squadrons so shamefully beat by three, was confounded to that degree, that he did not recover himself the whole day, for after that, all his orders were given in hurry and confusion.

When the Duke saw *Tallard's* Lines advance, he ordered his Troops also to advance and meet them. The Front-line of the enemy was composed mostly of the *Gendarmery*, on whose bravery *Tallard* had the greatest dependence. These therefore were pitched upon to begin the Battle; and they indeed made so bold and resolute a Charge, that they broke through our first Line: but our second meeting them, obliged them to retire. This check allayed that fire, which the *French* have always been so remarkable for in their first onsets: And it was observable, that they did not make such another push that day; for when once they are repulsed, their fire immediately abates. And now our Squadrons charged in their turn, and thus for some hours they

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they charged each other with various success, all sword in hand. At length the *French* courage began to abate, and our Squadrons gained ground upon them, until they forced them back to the Height on which they were first drawn up. Here their Foot which had not fired a shot, interposed; whereupon the Duke ordered his Squadrons to halt. At the same time our Foot came up, and Colonel *Blood* with nine Field-pieces loaded with Cartridge-shot, fired on their Foot, which obliged them to quit the Horse, and stand on their own defence.

The Cavalry had this breathing-time, in which both sides were very busy in putting their Squadrons and Lines in order. And now *Tallard* finding that the Troops in *Blenheim* did not answer his expectation, sent to them to quit the Village, and come to his assistance: But alas! they were not able to assist themselves. He then sent to Marshal *Marsin* for help: But he sent him word, he had too much work on his own hands. The Duke now finding the enemy very backward in renewing the Battle, and, as it seemed, rather in a tottering condition, sent orders to all his Troops to advance gently, until they came pretty near them, and then to ride on a full trot up to them. This they did so effectually, that it decided the fate of the day. The *French* fire was quite extinguished, they made not the least resistance, but gave way and broke at once. Our Squadrons drove through the very centre of them, which put them to an intire rout. About 30 of their Squadrons made toward a Bridge of boats they had over the *Danube*: But the Bridge (as it frequently happens in such cases) broke under the crowd that rushed upon it, and down they went. At the same time our Squadrons pursued close at their heels, cutting down all before them; for in all such close pursuits, 'tis very rare that any Quarter is given. In short, they were almost all of them killed or drowned; and the few that

that reached the far side of the River, were killed by the Boors of the Villages they had burnt. *Tallard* fled that way, but finding the Bridge broken, he turned up the River toward *Hochstet*, and was taken. The rest of his Troops fled toward *Lawingen*, but were not pursued, because the Elector and *Marfin* still made good their ground. The Duke observing this, ordered Lieutenant General *Hompesch* to draw together what Troops he could, and fall on their Flank : But by this time they found that *Tallard* was routed, and seeing our Squadrons drawing toward them, they instantly, and with great dexterity and expedition, formed their Troops into three Columns, and marched off with the greatest dispatch and order imaginable. Prince *Eugene* by this time had got a good part of his Troops over the Morass, and was just ready to fall on their Rear : But perceiving the Squadrons under *Hompesch* coming down that way, he took them to be some of *Tallard's* Squadrons drawing down to join the Elector ; whereupon he halted, lest they should fall on his Flank. The Duke also seeing Prince *Eugene's* Troops so near the Rear of the Elector's, took them to be a Body of *Bavarians*, making good the Elector's retreat ; and thereupon ordered *Hompesch* to halt. Here they both remained until they were informed of their mistakes by their Aids de Camp ; and it was by this means that the Elector and *Marfin* had time to get over the Pass of *Nordlingen* which was just before them. Our Troops also were much fatigued, and night drew on, all which favoured their retreat. Or perhaps it may rather be said, that Providence interposed, which seeing the slaughter of the day, thought it sufficient : Otherwise few, if any of them, could have escaped. As to the Battalions which *Tallard* had with him in the Field, they were cut in pieces to a man, such only excepted, as threw themselves down among the dead. I rode through

1704. through them next morning as they lay dead, in Rank and File. As soon as the Troops in *Blenheim*, saw the fate of their Army in the Field, they threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion; but the Troops in *Auberclaw* made off with *Marfin*.

You have here the most exact account of this memorable Battle, that I could possibly learn; for next morning I made it my business, to ride over the Field of battle, and had very particular informations of the several transactions I have mentioned, from the parties immediately engaged in them.

The Victory of this day was allowed by all, to be chiefly owing (under Divine Providence) to the valour and conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the bravery of the Troops, which he led from the *Maese* to the *Danube*.

The loss of the enemy was computed to be at least 40,000 killed, drowned and taken. The Prisoners of note were, the Marshal *Tallard*, and 27 Officers of the first Rank, with 1500 of inferior Rank. The booty also was very great, 103 Cannon, and 14 Mortars, 129 Colours, 110 Standards, 17 pair of Kettle-drums, 3600 Tents, 15 Pontoons, 34 Coaches, 24 Barrels of Silver, and 30 laden Mules, with all the Plate and Baggage of the Officers.

The true account of this Battle was concealed from old *Lewis* for some time, but when he came to know the truth of it, he was much cast down; it being the first blow of any fatal consequence, his Arms had received, during his long reign. And he said in a passion, he had often heard of *Armies being beaten*, but never of one *taken* before.

The loss on our side also was great, we had near 6000 killed, and above 8000 wounded. The Troops under Prince *Eugene* were the greatest sufferers, and in all probability he would not have been able to

force

force the Elector and *Marfin* from their ground, had not the Duke managed *Tallard* as he did; and indeed, had that conceited man been advised by the other two, it were hard to say how the day would have ended. The loss of our Regiment was, three Captains, and four Subalterns, killed: Our Major and five Officers wounded, with near 100 private men killed and wounded.

The day after the Battle, all our wounded were sent to *Nordlingen*, where our Grand Hospital was fixed; the Prisoners were disposed of and sent off, except *Tallard* and three more, and in the afternoon, the Army marched to *Lawingen*. Here we halted for our Tents and Baggage, and to refresh our men. The Sunday following was appointed for a day of Thanksgiving; and after Divine Service, the Army drew out to fire for the Victory. On this occasion, *Tallard*, and the Officers with him, were desired to ride out to see the Army fire, which they did with much persuasion. As they rode along the Lines, our Generals paid *Tallard* the Compliment of riding next the Army, and ordered all the Officers to salute him. When the firing was over, the Duke asked *Tallard*, how he liked the Army? He answered, with a shrug, Very well, but they have had the Honour of beating the best Troops in the world. The Duke replied readily, What will the world think of the Troops that beat them?

I cannot omit taking notice of the compliments that were payed the Duke of *Marlborough* on this occasion. The first was a letter from the Emperor, wrote in *Latin* with his own hand; in which he gives him the appellation of "most illustrious Cousin, and dear Prince," and then proceeds, "For it is our Will, that this publick Monument * which I have conferred on you, should

* *Mindleheim* a Principality conferred on the Duke. It is a pretty large town in the circle of *Suabia*, with a Territory, which extends 18 *English* miles in length, and 16 in breadth.

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“ manifest to all the world, how much myself and
 “ the whole *Empire* (as I here freely acknowledge)
 “ owe both to the most Serene Queen of *Great-Bri-*
 “ *tain*, for having sent her powerful assistance, under
 “ your conduct as far as *Suabia*, and even to *Ba-*
 “ *varia*, when my own and the *Empire*’s affairs
 “ were not a little disordered by the perfidious re-
 “ volt of the *Bavarian* to the *French*; and also
 “ to your Grace, that all things have been so pru-
 “ dently and successfully carried on. For not on-
 “ ly Fame, but also the Generals of my Army,
 “ the companions and sharers of your Labours
 “ and your Victories, attribute the same chief-
 “ ly to your councils and conduct, and to the
 “ bravery and fortitude of the *English* and other
 “ Forces, that fought under your conduct, &c.”

The *States-General*, in their compliments to the Duke, use the following expression.

“ After the first Blow you gave them at *Schel-*
 “ *lemberg*, we had reason to expect something
 “ greater would follow; but never dared to car-
 “ ry our hopes so far, as to think of so glorious
 “ and compleat a Victory as you have gained o-
 “ ver the enemy. The Action of that day has
 “ placed your merit in its true lustre. A Day
 “ whose glory might have been envied by the
 “ greatest Captains of past ages, and whose Me-
 “ mory will endure throughout all ages to come,
 “ &c.”

The day after our Thanksgiving, we marched toward *Ulm*, where we stayed two days; and then leaving some Troops with Lieutenant-General *Thun-*
gen, for the taking of that City, we marched in eight columns through the country of *Wirtemberg*. Here the inhabitants, who were all *Protestants*, came out in all places, returning us thanks on their knees, and blessing us for preserving them from the fury of the Elector of *Bavaria*. On the 16th of *Aug-*
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gust O. S. all our columns joined near *Philipsburg*, where we passed the *Rhine*; and encamped on the plains of *Spirebach*. This place was remarkable for a victory which Marechal *Tallard* obtained here the last Campaign over the Prince of *Hesse*.

The Marechal at that time had laid siege to *Landau*; and the Prince of *Hesse*, and Count *Nassau Homberg*, who commanded two separate bodies on the *Rhine*, were ordered to join on this plain, and endeavour to oblige *Tallard* to raise the siege: But as a dispute arose between them about the command, they encamped separately, a Morass being between them. *Tallard* being informed of this, decamped privately about the dusk of the evening, leaving a sufficient number of Troops to guard his Trenches, and by break of day he was up with the Prince. He not expecting this visit, was soon routed, and retired after the best manner he could, under the Cannon of *Spire*. Count *Homberg* not being able (or perhaps not willing) to assist the Prince, retired under the cannon of a Fort on that side the *Rhine* opposite *Philipsburg*; and *Tallard* returned to *Landau*, and took it. This little success puffed him up to that degree, that he verily thought there were not any Troops able to stand before him and his *Gens de Armery*; but he found himself much mistaken at *Blenheim*.

Our Army lay encamped on these plains, until the Prince of *Baden* joined us with his Troops from *Ingolstadt*; that place having surrendered, as soon as they heard of the defeat of the Elector. But the old Gentleman could never forgive our two Generals, for robbing him of his part in the glory of the battle.

Much about the same time we were joined by the Troops which Prince *Eugene* had left to guard the lines of *Stolhoffen*. Our Army was then computed to be 135,000; and now the siege of the unfortunate Town of *Landau* was undertaken.

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Thrice

1704. Thrice was it besieged and thrice taken in three succeeding Campaigns. The siege was to be carried on by the Prince of *Baden* under the King of the *Romans*. All the Troops that were not in the late battle, were to be employed in it, and our two Generals were to cover the siege. On the last of *August* our Army advanced to *Landau*. *Villeroy* had drawn together all the *French* Troops that were in that country, to try if he could prevent us from sitting down before it; but as we advanced he retired behind the Lines of *Haguenau*. Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* advanced to *Cronweissenburg*, about three Leagues from *Landau*, and in ten days after the King of the *Romans* arrived.

While the siege was carrying on, the Duke's thoughts were employed in forming a new scheme for promoting the common cause. He considered that the *Netherlands* were crowded with a number of the best fortified Towns in *Europe*, and that they were surrounded with Lines almost impregnable; from hence he concluded it next to an impossibility to penetrate into *France* that way. His scheme therefore was to carry on the War along the *Moselle*, and having proposed it to Prince *Eugene*, he immediately approved of it. Whereupon they went to the siege, where, in a council of War, the King of the *Romans*, the Prince of *Baden* and all the General-Officers fell into it at once. It was then concluded that early in the spring, the Prince of *Baden* with 40,000 *Germans* should join the Duke of *Marlborough* with an equal number of Troops on the *Moselle*. This affair being settled, the Duke undertook immediately to clear the *Moselle* of all the *French* Garisons from *Coblentz* up to *Treves*; and thereupon ordered the Prince of *Hesse* to march with the *Prussian*, *Hanoverian* and *Hessian* Troops toward *Treves*. His Grace also went with them, and in a short time they took that City

ty and *Traerbach*, and punctually executed what he had undertaken. This being done, he left the Prince with his Troops, to take care of that part of the country, and returned to *Cronweissenburg*. It was now toward the end of *October*, and *Landau* still held out: But as it was not in the power of *France* to raise the siege, the Duke thought it full time to send off the *British* and *Dutch* Troops for *Holland*. Whereupon boats were prepared to carry the Foot down the *Rhine*; while the Horse were to march back the same way they came up. Our Regiment was quartered at *Ruremond*.

This winter my very good friend and benefactor General *Hamilton*, being grown old and infirm, resigned his Regiment to Lieutenant-General *Ingoldsby*.

Immediately after this, the Duke set out to visit several of the Courts of *Germany*, in order to press them to prosecute the War with vigour; and it may well be supposed that the man who had just preserved the *Empire*, was highly caressed wherever he came.

And now on his return home he was graciously received by her Majesty, highly caressed by all that wished well to their country; and upon his going into the House of Lords, they ordered the Lord-Keeper to make him the following Speech.

“ My Lord Duke of Marlborough.

“ The happy success that has attended her Majesty’s Arms, under your Grace’s conduct in *Germany* the last Campaign, is so truly great, so truly glorious in all its circumstances, that few instances in former ages can equal, much less excel the lustre of it.

“ Your Grace has not overthrown young and unskilful Generals, raw and undisciplined Troops; but your Grace has conquered the *French* and *Bavarian* Armies, that were fully instructed in

1704. " the arts of War: Select veteran Troops, flushed
 " with former successes and victories, commanded
 " by Generals of great experience and bravery.
 " The glorious victories your Grace has obtained
 " at *Schellenburg* and *Hochstet* are very great, ve-
 " ry illustrious in themselves; but they are greater
 " still in their consequences to her Majesty and her
 " Allies. The Emperor is thereby relieved, the
 " *Empire* itself freed from a dangerous War in the
 " very bowels of it, the exorbitant power of *France*
 " checked, and I hope a happy step made toward
 " reducing that Monarch within his due bounds,
 " and securing the liberties of *Europe*. The ho-
 " nour of these glorious victories, great as they
 " are (under the immediate blessing of God) is
 " chiefly owing to your Grace's conduct and va-
 " lour. This is the unanimous voice of *England*,
 " and of her Majesty's Allies.
 " My Lord, this most honourable House is
 " highly sensible of the great and signal service,
 " your Grace has done her Majesty this Campaign,
 " and of the immortal honour you have done the
 " *English* Nation, and have commanded me to
 " give you their Thanks for the same. And I do
 " accordingly give your Grace the Thanks of this
 " honourable House, for the great honour you
 " have done the *English* Nation."

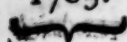
The Committee of the House of Commons wait-
 ed on his Grace the same day, with the Thanks of
 that House.

1705. Early this Spring the Duke came over to the
Hague, and having settled matters with the States,
 he ordered the Troops that had acted under him the
 preceding Campaign, to assemble at *Maestricht*,
 whither he soon came, and on the 12th of *May*
O. S. marched toward the *Moselle*, leaving the
Veldt Marshal *De Auverquerque*, with the *Dutch*
 Troops, encamped within the intrenchment of *Peter-
 berg*.

tersberg. By easy marches we arrived on the 24th, on the banks of that river, about two leagues above *Treves*, where we were joined by the Prince of *Hesse* and the Troops under his command.

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Here it was that the Prince of *Baden* had promised to join the Duke : But he let him know that for several reasons he could not possibly do it as early as he had engaged ; however in a short time he expected to have every thing in readiness, and then he might be sure he would not fail him. Upon the strength of this, the Duke passed the *Moselle*, and marched on through the Defile of *Tavern*, which is a narrow Pass between two mountains, near two leagues in length. He continued his march the same day three leagues beyond it, and we incamped at *Elst*, with the *Moselle* on our right. The *Mareschal Villars* was at this time incamped at *Sirque* two leagues in our front, with an Army upwards of 70,000. The Duke waited here above a month, and no appearance of the Prince of *Baden*. At length he sent the Duke word he was so ill of the Gout, that he could not possibly join him. This was generally thought to be done out of pique to the Duke, on account of the battle of *Hochstet* ; but however that was, the Duke was greatly chagrined at the disappointment, as he had conceived great hopes of penetrating into *France* that way, which must have obliged the *French* Court to alter their measures. For had that Prince joined him according to their agreement, the *French* must have drawn from the *Netherlands*, a good part of those Troops, with which the *Electer* and *Villeroy* were at this time carrying all before them. Here their successes were so great, that it obliged the *States* to write a pressing letter to the Duke, to return to them with all possible expedition ; and on the receipt of it, he put all things in order to retire. Here he was obliged to use great caution, lest *Villars*

1705.  should attempt to fall on his Rear, as he was passing through the Defile of *Tavern*. This had formerly been the fate of Marechal *Crequie*, who being under a necessity of passing this Defile with the *French* Army, *Charles* the old Duke of *Lorraine* at the head of the *German* Forces, fell on his Rear, and pursuing the advantage, gave him an entire overthrow. To prevent a misfortune of this kind, the Duke decamped on our beating Tattoo, and by marching all night, we entered the Defile by day-break; and though *Villars* had near double our number, and was looked upon to be the most pushing General in the *French* service, yet he never stirred from his Camp. So on we marched without the least disturbance, and repassed the *Moselle*.

At this time the Duke received an express from the Veldt Marechal, with an account that the enemy had taken *Huy*, and were in full march to *Liege*. This made him hasten his march; insomuch, that that we were but half the time in returning, that we took in going up. When we had advanced as far as *Aix-la-Chapelle*, another express arrived, with an account that the enemy was actually in possession of the city of *Liege*, and was battering the Citadel. Upon which the Duke hastened away with all the Horse and Dragoons; each of them taking a Grenadier behind him; and next morning, joined the Veldt Marechal at *Petersberg*. General *Churchill* made what haste he could to bring up the Foot: But as soon as the enemy heard of the Duke's approach, they drew off from *Liege*, and retired within their Lines. As soon as the Foot were come up, the Duke marched after the enemy, and incamped within a league of their Lines; from whence he sent a detachment which retook *Huy*. His Grace at this time became acquainted with a Gentleman of that country, through whose estate the enemies Lines ran; and as he wanted to get clear

clear of such troublesome neighbours, he acquainted the Duke with the situation of two barriers, about three leagues from our right, where the enemy kept but slight Guards, and he supplied him with two trusty peasants to guide him thither. Upon this the Duke formed the following scheme.

On the 16th of *July*, O. S. about noon, he ordered the Army to strike their Camp, and pack up the baggage. This being done, the Veldt Marshal marched away to the left with all the left wing; at the same time a detachment of 10,000 Foot was made from the right wing, which drew up on the right of all. These were commanded by Count *Noyels*, and Lieutenant-General *Ingoldshy*, and they, and we on the right wing lay down on our arms.

The enemy soon had an account of all this, and concluded by the march of our left wing, that we really designed to attack them on that side, while the Duke should at the same time attack them where he stood. Whereupon *Villeroy* edged with their right wing away to the right, to observe the motions of the Veldt Marshal: And the Elector drew all the Troops that were on their left, close to him, to oppose the Duke. Thus matters stood, till night came on, at which time our right wing stood to their arms, and the Horse mounted; and then the Detachment, with a good number of Pioneers, marched away to the right. The Duke at the head of the right wing of Horse, kept close to them, and our right wing of Foot, close to the Horse; at the same time the Veldt Marshal, facing about with the left wing, made what haste he could after us. Thus we marched all night. About day-break the Detachment came up to the Barriers, where they found but a Lieutenant and forty men in each of them; who being much surprized, gave us only one fire, and made off. The Detachment soon broke open the Barriers, and

1705. entered, and the Pioneers fell to work in levelling the Lines; so that in a short time the Duke with the Horse, and the Detachment were within them, and soon drew up in great order: And our right wing of Foot, doubling their pace, passed as fast as they came up, and drew up behind the Horse.

The Elector and *Villeroy* were strangely confounded, when their spies came to them a little before day, and told them, our Army was in full march toward the Barriers. Upon this the Elector ordered the Marquis *de Alegar* and Count *Horn* to ride off with the greater part of the left wing of Horse, and try to prevent us from coming within the Lines, or to force those back that had got within them; while he with the rest followed, leaving orders for the Foot to make what haste they could after him. *De Alegar* and *Horn* did not come within sight of the Barriers, till it was fair day-light; when to their surprize, they saw our right wing of Horse, and a body of Foot behind them, drawn up in great order, and also the remaining part of our Foot crowding over the Lines, as fast as they could. However, the Marquis and the Count, according to their orders, drew up, and with great resolution charged our Horse. In this charge they were both desperately wounded, and made prisoners, and their Squadrons drove back in great disorder. By this time the Elector was come up, with the rest of their left wing of Horse, who rallying those that were broken, drew them up in conjunction with these he brought with him; and seeing his left wing of Foot near at hand, he made another bold push at our Horse, but was treated as in the former charge. And now the Duke ordered his Squadrons to advance briskly after them: But they were stopped by the fire of some of their Foot, that had lined a hollow way.

In

In the mean time our Foot coming up, soon drove them from thence. The Elector was now endeavouring to rally his Horse, but before they could be brought into any kind of order, our Squadrons advanced up to them in a round trot, and put them to an intire rout. They left their Foot to shift for themselves, and of these, a great number were cut to pieces.

I must not omit taking notice of the gallant behaviour and good discipline of ten *Bavarian* Battalions, who finding themselves abandoned by their Horse, kept together; and observing that as we had marched all night, our Foot was not able to come up with them, they formed themselves into a hollow square. In this form they marched, and notwithstanding that our right wing of Horse and Dragoons had surrounded them on all sides, yet they dared not venture within reach of their fire; for having divided their Grenadiers into two bodies, which kept moving backward and forward to support the parts that were most in danger, the Square kept marching on, driving the Squadrons before them out of their way, and so retreated safe to *Louvain*, which was three leagues from the field of battle. This shews what the Foot are capable of doing against the Horse, while with resolution they preserve their order, and avoid hurry.

Villeroy made all the haste he could with the Right wing to support the Elector; but seeing him defeated, he turned off to the left, and made the best of his way to *Louvain*, where he found the Elector with his shatter'd Troops, cursing his fate. Here they took up the strong camp of *Parck*, having the *Dyle* in their front, which is a deep still river, and runs through *Louvain*.

In this action (which may properly be called half a battle, being fought by half only of each army) the *Bavarians* were the greatest sufferers; the Elector having had with him 24 Squadrons and 22 Battalions

1705. Battalions of his own subject Troops, who behaved to admiration: And had the *French* Horse that were joined with them, and were treble their number, behaved with equal bravery, the victory had not come as easy as it did. It was computed that they had about 2000 killed, and a great number taken, besides two intire Regiments taken at *Tirlemont*, with eighteen pieces of Cannon, and a great many Colours, Standards, and Kettle-drums. This victory and our gaining these important Lines, cost us but a very few men not worth notice. Our Army halted near *Tirlemont*, and we did not march after the enemy till twelve o'clock the next day, for which the Duke was censured by those that did not wish him well. They insisted, that had he pursued with the Horse, while the enemy were in so great consternation, and left orders for the Foot to follow as fast as they could, it would have obliged *Villeroy* to take another rout; and then the Elector could not have rallied his shattered Troops at *Louvain*. On the other hand it was alledged in favour of the Duke, that the Army in general, and especially the Foot, were greatly fatigued, and that our left wing under the Veldt Marechal had not passed the Lines; and therefore that it had been very imprudent in him to pursue the Elector with his fatigued Squadrons alone, lest *Villeroy* who had the greater part of their Army with him, might have fallen on him with his fresh and unfatigued Troops, and overturned all he had done.

However that might have happened, it gave a handle to his Grace's enemies in the House of Lords to move that the Duke of *Marlborough's* conduct in relation to this affair, might be examined into: as also with respect to his marching the Army up the *Moselle*, which they urged evidently shewed his design of protracting the War. But this motion was rejected with indignation. It shewed however the spirit of his Grace's enemies, and what he

he might have expected, had he not succeeded the preceding campaign, in his march up to Ger-
many. 1705.

About noon next day we marched after the enemy, and found them incamped on the other side the *Dyle*, with their Right close to *Louvain*, where it was impossible to come at them. We incamped within cannon-shot of them, where we lay about ten days. In this time the Duke laid a scheme for passing the river two leagues above the town; and in order to it, General *Churchill* marched on our beating Tattoo, with a body of 20,000 men to the place where he designed to pass, and soon after his Grace followed with the rest of the Army. We had laid our bridges, and passed fifteen battalions, with all our Grenadiers, when the Duke came up about sun-rise, and perceived the enemy drawing up on the hills, above our men that had passed. He then viewed the ground on both sides of the river, and found it so very swampy, that the Horse could not pass it without great difficulty; and thereupon he sent orders to those that had passed, to retire, and bring off the bridges. The enemy perceiving this, drew down their cannon, and began to cannonade us. From hence we marched about two leagues back from the river, where we lay four days; and then the Duke marched the Army to the head of the *Dyle*, to try if he could pass there. *Slanenberg* (who had been made General of the *Dutch* Infantry in the room of *Obdam*) was by this time grown so intolerably insolent, that there was no bearing him; and because he was not consulted on all occasions, he took all opportunities of thwarting the Duke. We were now drawing near the enemy, and his Grace had sent orders that the *English* Train of artillery should make all possible haste up to him: But as they were just upon entering a narrow Defile, *Slanenberg* came up to the head of them, and stopt them for some hours,
until

1705. until his baggage had passed on before them, a thing never known before even for the King's baggage. And this delay it was which prevented the Duke from attacking the enemy. Being disappointed by this means, he turned all his thoughts on demolishing their Lines, and taking in *St. Luc*, and *Zanvelt*, which he finished by the middle of *October*, and then sent the Army into quarters.

The Duke made a proper representation of *Sla-
nenberg's* behaviour to the *States General*, who knowing the pride of the man, readily laid hold of this opportunity, and sent him a dismiss. Lieutenant-General *Salish* was appointed to succeed him as General of the *Dutch* Infantry. The rise of Mr. *Salish* is very remarkable. He was born in *Switzerland* of a family of note, and upon some disgust had listd himself with a *Dutch* Officer, who brought him a Recruit to *Breda*, to the very Regiment he was now Colonel of. In this Regiment he advanced himself by his personal bravery, without any interest or friends, but such as his merit had gained him: 'Till from a private Centinel, he became Colonel of the Regiment, Governour of *Breda*, and General of the *Dutch* Infantry; but it was yet more remarkable, that the Officer who inlistd him, still continued a Lieutenant when our Regiment was quartered at *Breda*, and it was more than he deserved, for he was an old *Geneva* sot: However, the General, out of pure compassion to him, kept him constantly confined, where great care was taken of him, as long as he lived.

1706. The *French* King being greatly incensed at the Duke of *Savoy*, was resolved to crush him this campaign; in order to which he sent a powerful Army into *Italy*, to take from him his Capital, and drive him out of his Dominions.

Upon our taking the field, the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered six hand-mills for grinding corn, to be delivered to every *British* Regiment, as well

Horse

Horſe as Foot. This occaſioned a report, that he deſigned to march us to *Italy*, to the relief of the Duke of *Savoy*, which had been a fine jaunt indeed : But whatever his Grace's deſign was, it is ſtill a myſtery, for any thing I have been able to learn ; for we never had occaſion of hand-mills in *Flanders*.

In the beginning of *May* our Army took the field, and aſſembled at *Burklome* near the demolifhed Lines. Here the Duke had an account, that the Elector and *Villeroy* were aſſembling the *French* Army on the plains of *Mont St. Andrea* ; whereupon he advanced to *Hanoy*. At this place he had intelligence, that the enemy had the ſame day taken up the ſtrong camp of *Ramillies*, which was within three leagues of us. Thereupon he ſent an expreſs to the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, who commanded the *Daniſh* Horſe, to let him know that he deſigned to engage the enemy next day, and therefore that he would join him as ſoon as poſſible.

Our Army at this time conſiſted of 117 Squadrons (including the *Daniſh* Horſe, which were fourteen of them), and 80 Battalions ; and the next day, being *Whitſunday* the 12th of *May*, O. S. by three in the morning, we marched up to the enemy in four Columns.

The enemy had 132 Squadrons, and 90 Battalions, beſide the advantage of the ground. It was a ſpot they had made choice of two months before ; for in the month of *March*, the Elector and *Villeroy* had taken two Engineers with them, and rode out, as it were to divert themſelves with hunting and hawking. At this time they examined all the ground from *Louvain* to the *Meſbaign*, and finding the ground about *Ramillies* the fitteſt place to draw the Duke of *Marlborough* to a Battle ; they ordered the Engineers to draw a Plan of it, and of the Order of battle, and ſent it to Court for their approbation. The Plan was highly

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ly approved of, and such a number of Troops sent them as they required ; and among them were as many of the Household Troops, as could be spared.

The nature of the ground, and disposition of their Army was as follows. They had the *Mebaign* on their Right, with the Village of *Franqueines* on the bank of it ; in this Village they had placed a good body of Foot and Dragoons, and had also thrown up such an Intrenchment, as the time would admit of. From hence to the Village of *Ramillies*, (which was a little to the Left of their Center) was a fine plain of near half a League in length, where they knew the main stress of the Battle must fall. On this Plain therefore, they drew up the choicest, and the greatest number of their Cavalry, interlined with their best Infantry. In the Village of *Ramillies*, (before which they had also thrown up a trench) they placed twenty Battalions with ten pieces of Cannon. From *Ramillies* runs the River *Gbeete*, which makes the ground on both sides marshy, and not passable, especially for Horse. Along this River to the Villages of *Offuse* and *Autereglise*, which covered their left flank, was posted a thin Line of the worst of their Infantry, with Squadrons after a scattering manner posted in their Rear. This was the disposition of the enemy, when our Army came up to them.

We drew up in two Lines opposite them, having a rising ground on our Right, whereon a great part of our *British* Troops were drawn up. From hence the Duke had a fair view of the enemy, and saw evidently, that the stress of the Battle must be on the Plain, where they were drawn up in a formidable manner : He saw also, that things must go hard with him, unless he could oblige them to break the disposition they had made on the plain. On this occasion his Grace shewed a genius vastly superior to the *French* Generals ; for though he

knew

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knew the ground along the *Gbeete* was not passable, yet he ordered our right wing to march down in great order, with Pontoons to lay bridges, as if he designed to attack them in their weak part. The Elector and *Villeroy* perceiving this, immediately ordered off from the Plain, an intire Line both of Horse and Foot, to reinforce those on the *Gbeete*. When the Duke observed that these had arrived there, he sent orders to our right wing to retire easily up the hill, without altering their aspect. This we did, until our Rear line had got on the back of the rising ground, out of sight of the enemy: But the Front line halted on the summit of the hill in full view of them, and there stood, ready to march down, and attack them. As soon as our Rear line had retired out of sight of the enemy, they immediately faced to the Left, and both Horse and Foot, with a good many Squadrons, that flunk out of the Front line, marched down to the Plain, as fast as they could; by this time the greater part of our Horse of the Left wing had arrived there also, and we were now superior in numbers to them in that quarter. The Duke soon put them in order for attacking the enemy on the Plain; and about one o'clock sent orders to the Veldt Mareschal, to begin the battle on the Left. At the same time he ordered four Brigades of Foot, to attack the Village of *Ramillies*, and then ordered the Troops on the plain, to advance and charge their main body.

In this engagement there was great variety of action; sometimes their Squadrons and sometimes our's giving way in different places; and as the fate of the day depended intirely on the behaviour of the Troops on the plain; so both sides exerted themselves, with the utmost vigour for a long time. The Duke was in all places where his presence was requisite; and in the hurry of the action happened to be unhorsed, and in great danger of his life; but was remounted by Captain *Molesworth*, one of his

1706. his Aid de Camps, the only person of his Retinue then near him; who seeing him in manifest danger of falling into the hands of the pursuing enemy, suddenly threw himself from his horse, and helped the Duke to mount him. His Grace, by this means, got off between our Lines; the Captain being immediately after surrounded by the enemy; from which danger (as well as that of our fire) he was, at last, providentially delivered. His Grace, about an hour after, had another narrow escape; when in shifting back from Captain *Molesworth's* horse to his own, Colonel *Bringfield* (his first Escuyer) holding the Stirrup, was killed by a cannon-shot from the Village of *Ramillies*. Notwithstanding which, the Duke immediately rode up to the head of his Troops; and his presence animated them to that degree, that they pressed home upon the enemy, and made them shrink and give back. At this very instant the Duke of *Wirttemberg* came up with the *Danish* Horse, and perceiving an open between the Village of *Franqueines* and their main body, fell in on the Right flank of their Horse, with such courage and resolution, that he drove them in upon their Center. This put them into great disorder; and our Troops taking this advantage, pressed so close upon them, that they could never recover their order. The Elector and *Villeroy* did all that was possible to keep them from breaking: But our Troops stuck so close to them, that they were put to the rout. The Household-Troops, who had behaved to admiration during the whole action, rallied and made a stand for some time: But as all the rest had fled, they were obliged to follow them, leaving the Foot that had been drawn up with them in the field (who were of no manner of use to them), to be cut to pieces.

The Veldt Marechal had also routed those where he attacked, who fled in a scattering manner toward *Charleroy*. The Troops in *Ramillies* defended them-

themselves to the last, till they saw their Troops drove out of the Field ; upon which they drew off, and made toward their Left Wing : But were most of them cut to pieces before they could reach it. Their Left Wing, which was posted along the *Gbeete*, and the Front Line of our Right Wing, (in which was our Regiment) stood looking on without firing a shot ; and as we were posted on an eminence, and were disengaged, we had a fair view of the whole Battle on the Plain.

When the Elector and *Villeroy* saw all was lost, they, with such Troops as they could bring together, made the best of their way for *Louvain*, and sent to their Left Wing to join them there, in order to make a stand at the *Dyle*, as they had done the last year : But the Lord *Marlborough* (perhaps sensible of his mistake at that time) pursued so close with the Horse, that he cut between their Left Wing and *Louvain*, which obliged them to disperse and fly the other way, every man shifting for himself. The Elector and *Villeroy* finding that the Duke was close at their heels, turned off from *Louvain*, and made toward *Vilvorde*, hoping to make the Canal which runs from *Brussels* thither : But the Duke still pursuing them close, they quitted *Vilvorde*, and never stopped, until they fled to *Lisle*, with about 2000 Horse only. The Duke having passed the Canal of *Vilvorde*, halted at *Grimnberg*, where he waited for the coming up of the Foot. These continued marching after him with all the expedition they could, without observing any other order than this, that every Regiment kept their men as close together as they possibly could ; and none of them halted above an hour at a time, till they joined him.

Thus ended the famous Battle of *Ramillies*. The enemy had at least 7000 killed, and a great many more taken prisoners ; and as they were dispersed about the Country, their loss by desertion was very considerable.

1706. siderable. Upon the whole, their loss was computed to be upwards of 30,000, beside 60 pieces of Cannon, 8 Mortars, a great number of Colours, Standards and Kettle-drums, taken. Their Tents and Baggage escaped us, having been sent off before the Battle. The loss on our side was computed to be more than 5000 killed and wounded.

We halted at *Grimnberg* until our Tents and Baggage came up; in which time the Magistrates of *Brussels*, *Louvain*, *Mechlin*, *Leer*, and *Alost*, brought their keys to the Duke, and craved his protection. From hence we marched to *Alost*, and the next day to *Ghent*, the Magistrates of which met the Duke a league from their City with their keys; as did also in two days after, those of *Bruges*, *Oudenard*, and *Courtray*. Our Army halted near *Ghent* for a fortnight, in which time the Duke went to the *Hague*, to consult with the *States* on the future operations of the Campaign.

The *French* Court, which had entertained great hopes of the success of this Campaign, was greatly shocked at the loss of the Battle: But it was yet more alarmed at the consequences that attended it. For it obliged them not only to recall their favourite General, the Duke of *Vendosme* from *Italy*, to command in the *Netherlands*, but also to draw a great number of their Troops from the *Rhine*.

On the Lord *Marlborough's* return from the *Hague*, the Veldt Marshal, with part of the Army, laid siege to *Ostend*; the Duke at the same time marched the other part to *Courtray*, where we lay till *Ostend* was taken. It surrendered in three weeks after opening Trenches, but had formerly held out as many years. The Marquis of *Terracena*, Governour of *Antwerp*, who had six *Spanish*, and six *French* Regiments in Garison, obliged Mr. *Du Pontis* who commanded the *French*, to capitulate for his marching home, which was granted.

granted. Upon which the Marquis declared for King *Charles*, and was continued Governour. *Dendermond* stood a blockade of three months before it surrendered.

The Veldt Mareſhal having joined the Duke, they marched the Army up to the Lines, which had been the *French Barrier* all the laſt War. We encamped at *Helſbin*, from whence a part of the Army under General *Salifſ* was ordered to lay ſiege to *Menin*. Our Regiment was part of this Detachment.

Menin was eſteemed to be one of *Vaubon's* maſter-pieces. It was a regular and well fortified place, with a Garifon of 5000 men, and well ſupplied with all manner of neceſſaries. The Governour diſputed every inch of ground with us, till we carried our approaches to the Foot of the Glacis; and then we made an attack on the Covert-way. Our intire Regiment was engaged in this attack, and here we paid for our looking on at *Ramillies*; having had two Captains, and five Subalterns killed, and eight Officers wounded, among whom I was one; having received a contuſion on the ſide of my head, which had like to have been fatal to me. As I was then Captain-Lieutenant and Adjutant, I was upon this occaſion made Captain of our Grenadiers.

The day after we had lodged our ſelves on the Covert-way, the Governour beat the Chamade, and honourable terms were granted him. While we were carrying on the ſiege, the Duke employed all the Boors of the Country, in demolishing the Lines, which extended from the *Liſs* to the *Scheld*. When this was executed, we marched to the Left, and paſſing the *Scheld* at *Pont-Eſpier*, we incamped at *Gramez*, from whence we marched to the plains of *Cambron*. A detachment was ſent off from this place to take in *Aeth*; which having ſurrendered in ten days, we then went into Quar-

1706.

ters; and this put an end to this glorious Campaign, to the immortal honour of the Duke of *Marlborough*. Surely if he committed a mistake the preceding Campaign, he made ample amends for it in this; for never was an enemy so fairly pushed out of a Country, as the *French* were out of the whole *Spanish Netherlands*. Let his Grace's enemies judge, whether this looks like protracting a War.

Soon after we went into Quarters, the Elector of *Bavaria*, by order of the *French* King, wrote to the Lord *Marlborough*, concerning a Treaty of Peace: But it appeared plainly, that the design of it was only to create a jealousy among the Allies; so that Treaty soon came to nothing. The Duke, on his return to *England*, was received by the Queen with all the esteem imaginable; he also received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and the whole Nation rung with the highest acclamations of his extraordinary merit.

1707.

The young King of *Sweden* was at this time raising large contributions in *Saxony*, and had threatened even the Emperor himself. The Allies dreaded the consequences of such an expedition; and had pressed her Majesty to send the Duke of *Marlborough* to him, to endeavour to persuade him to quit the *Empire*. Whereupon the Queen wrote a Letter to his *Swedish* Majesty, and gave it to the Duke to deliver to him. Early therefore in the Spring, his Grace came over, and proceeded to *Saxony*; and knowing well how to tickle the young Hero, he at his first audience, delivered the Queen's Letter to him, and addressed him in the following manner.

“ Sir, I present your Majesty a Letter, not written from the Chancery, but from the heart of the Queen my Mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her, she would have crossed the seas to see a Prince, admired by the whole Universe. I am in this respect,

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“spect, more happy than the Queen; and I wish
“I could serve some Campaigns, under so great
“a General as your Majesty, that I may learn
“what I yet want to know in the art of War.”

It was never known that the King was so much taken with any one as with the Duke of *Marlborough*, he engaged him to dine with him that day; and having continued with his Majesty four days, he in that time made use of such prevailing arguments, as quite changed the schemes of that ambitious Youth. He had intended to interfere in our War with *France*: But a new scene was presented to him, he was now determined to revenge himself on the *Czar*, and to dethrone him as he had *Augustus* of *Poland*. Soon after the Duke took leave of him, he marched out of *Saxony*, and prosecuted his designs on *Muscovy* with such precipitation, that the *Czar* artfully drew him on to *Pultowa*, and there gave him a total overthrow.

The Duke returned from *Saxony* in the beginning of *May*, and gave orders for the Army to assemble at *Betlebeem* near *Louvain*, from whence in a little time we marched to *Meldert*.

The Duke of *Vendome* drew the *French* Army behind their Lines near *Mons*; and though he outnumbered us considerably, yet he had positive orders not to hazard a battle, unless it was in defence of his Lines. We lay at *Meldert* near six weeks, in hope of drawing him from behind them; at length he ventured out, and incamped at *Genep*, six leagues from us. The Duke suffered him to lie quiet about eight or ten days; then on our beating Tattoo, we decamped on a sudden, and sent off our heavy baggage to *Louvain*. We marched all night, and by the time it was day, the Duke with the Right wing of Horse, had advanced within less than half a league of the enemy: But they had just struck their tents, and were marching off in

1707. some confusion. The Duke immediately ordered Count *Tilly* to advance with the Horse and fall on their Rear, and by that means keep them engaged, till the Foot should come up. But *Tilly* could do nothing in the Inclosures, as he had none but Horse : And the Foot being fatigued, could not come up, so *Vendosme* marched off at his leisure. The Duke therefore seeing that the affair was not practicable, ordered the Army to encamp. *Vendosme* perceiving this, concluded that he had entirely given over that design ; and as he had got clear of the inclosed grounds, he incamped at *Seneff*, only two leagues from us. This was what the Duke expected ; wherefore on our beating Tattoo, we decamped again : But as we began to march it rained so heavily, that the Foot could hardly stand under it, and it was impossible for them to keep their Arms dry. The Van of our Horse had advanced very near *Vendosme's* Camp, by the time it was day. He not expecting this second visit, struck his Camp in great hurry, marched off as fast as he could, and never stopped, till he found himself safe within his Lines. In all probability he had paid dear for his halt at *Seneff*, had it not been for the rain, which continued so violent for three days together, that our Foot was in a miserable condition. The Duke then turned off to the right, and incamped near *Soignies*, which was but two leagues from our former ground. As short as this march was, yet the rain was so severe, and the ground so poached by the Horse that marched first, that many of the Foot were smothered in the sloughs, and it was four days before the rest of them came up.

We lay here near three weeks weather-bound ; for it was toward the end of *July* before our Artillery could be raised off the ground. Our first movement was to the plains of *Cambren*, where we lay about ten days ; and crossing the *Scheld* at
Pont-

Pont-Espier, we encamped at *Helshin*. The *French* had thrown up new Lines last winter, from *Warne-ton*, on the *Lys* to *Lisle*, and so on to *Tournay* on the *Scheld*; and the Duke wanted to take a view of these Lines, and of the country about them. With this view he ordered the whole army to make a grand Forage that way, he ordered also sixty Squadrons and twenty Battalions to cover the Foragers, and to guard him, while he was viewing the ground; and the whole Army was to be in readiness to take arms, and march out, in case *Vendosme* drew out to disturb him or the Foragers. But the *Frenchman* took care to keep within his Lines, and the Duke rode as near them between *Lisle* and *Tournay*, as their Cannon would permit. As the country was very plentiful, our Camp was sufficiently provided with forage till the middle of *October*, when we went into quarters.

The *French* King finding himself hard pressed on all sides, began to listen to the disaffected party in *Scotland*, who had solicited him a long time, to send the Pretender to them, with a few Troops and a great many Arms. Whereupon he caused a Squadron of 24 light ships to be fitted up at *Dunkirk*. The Squadron was commanded by the Chevalier *Forbin*, and on board of it embarked the Pretender, with twelve Battalions and a great many Arms, &c.

The Queen had timely notice of the *French* preparations; and in a short time had a fleet of 36 men of War in the *Downs*, under the command of Sir *George Byng*. In the beginning of *March* *Forbin* sailed out of *Dunkirk*, steering along the coast of *Holland*. He had the start of Sir *George* by eighteen hours; who finding *Forbin* had slipped him, made all the sail he could along the coast of *England*, for the Firth of *Edinburgh*. On this occasion ten Battalions were ordered from *Flanders* (our Regiment was one of them) and Sir *George* on

1708. his sailing from the *Downs*, had sent Admiral *Baker* with ten men of War to convoy us. We embarked on board Transports, and sailed to the mouth of the *Tyne*; where we lay on board, waiting for the event of what might happen between Sir *George* and *Forbin*. The latter having made the length of *Scotland*, stood over for that coast: But coming near shore, he found he had over-shot the Firth; whereupon he tacked, and stood off shore till he recovered his Port. Just as he was standing into the Firth, he discovered Sir *George*. Upon which *Forbin*, who never had any opinion of the undertaking, and dreaded the consequence of being imbayed by him, tacked about, and made all the sail he could homeward. Sir *George* made what sail he could after him, but as they were all clean light ships, they out-sailed him. However, we retook the *Salisbury*, in which were the Lord *Griffin*, Lord *Clermont*, a son of Lord *Middleton's*, Colonel *Wachop*, with several others of note. This famous Expedition being over, our ten Battalions sailed back to *Ostend*, where we disembarked the 14th of *April*.

The *French* Court being disappointed in this attempt, had now formed the following scheme to drive the Duke of *Marlborough* out of the *Netherlands*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who had been formerly Governour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and had lived in a genteel and profuse manner among them, had gained much on the people, and was in particular a high favourite of the Ladies. He had always kept up a secret correspondence with the leading men of their great towns, who were rather inclined to the *French* and *Spanish* interest, than to that of the *Allies*; and had prevailed with them to throw open their gates, and receive him, whenever he came before them. He had also assured them, that the *French* would have such an Army in the field this Campaign, as would be

be able to drive the Allies out of the *Netherlands*, if they did their part and would not suffer themselves to be besieged. 1708.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, whose intelligence at the *French* Court never failed him, had early notice of all this; and Prince *Eugene* (having in the three last Campaigns drove the *French* quite out of *Italy*) was now at leisure to join the Duke. He thereupon sent to him to meet him at the *Hague*; which he accordingly did, and there they settled matters so, that the Prince was to join him with 30,000 *Germans*, to oppose the *French* in their designs on the *Netherlands*.

In the beginning of *May* the Duke of *Vendosme* took the field, and incamped on the plains of *Cambron*. His Army consisted of 139 Battalions and 204 Squadrons. From thence he marched to *Soignies*, where he waited for the arrival of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was to command the Army, and have the glory of the Campaign. He arrived at *Soignies* about the middle of *June*, attended by the Duke of *Berry*, and the Pretender, who was called the Chevalier *de St. George*.

My Lord *Marlborough* drew his Army together at *Terbanck*, between *Louvain* and *Brussels*, in order to cover these towns, and to be in the way to join Prince *Eugene*. Our Army consisted of 110 Battalions, and 176 Squadrons. When the enemy advanced to *Soignies*, the Duke imagined they had a design on *Brussels*, and therefore marched to *Anderlecht*. The enemy finding they could not come at *Brussels*, resolved to push for *Ghent*. On the 25th of *June*, O. S. on their beating Tattoo, they decamped suddenly, and marched thither, as expeditiously as they could. When they came before it, they sent a formal message to the Magistrates, that if they did not open their gates, they would burn the Town about their ears. Upon which they assembled (as formerly) to consult, whether they should open their gates to the *French*, or receive

1708. receive General *Murray*, who was just arrived at *Bruges-port* with four Regiments from *Courtray*. The few that were not in the secret, declared for receiving *Murray*: But the majority were for the *French*. Whereupon they admitted them, and shut out *Murray*, who marched back to *Courtray*. Lieutenant-General *La Motte* entered *Ghent* with 20,000 *French*; and next morning he sent off 5000 of them to *Bruges*, which also threw open her gates to them. The Duke of *Burgundy's* next design was upon *Oudenard*; and had he met with equal success here, it had cut us off from all communication with our Garisons on the other side the *Scorpe* and the *Lys*.

My Lord *Marlborough* finding that the enemy had stole this march of him, and imagining they designed for *Ghent*, decamped next morning, and marched directly for *Oudenard*. When we arrived there, the *French* were also on their march thither, and had advanced as far as *Gaver*, within two leagues of it: But finding that we were before hand with them, they stopt short, and passed the *Scheld* there, with a design of marching that way back toward *Lisle*. The Duke upon this ordered two bridges to be laid over the *Scheld* below the town, and left orders for the Foot to pass as fast as they came up: While he at the head of the Horse passed through the town with such dispatch, that our Army had got between them and home. Things being thus circumstanced, they were under a necessity either of fighting their way through us, or of retiring back to *Ghent*.

Upon this a dispute arose between *Burgundy* and *Vendosme*. The latter and the old Generals dreaded the consequences of a battle, and therefore were for retiring toward *Ghent*, until *La Motte* had joined them; though by that means they must be pent up in a corner of the country, and cut off from all their Garisons: But *Burgundy* and the young Gen-
tlemen

lemen were for fighting. And indeed it is not easy to say which was the best course to take, especially as Prince *Eugene's* Troops were within two days march of us. However, *Burgundy* prevailed, which disgusted *Vendosme* so, that they were continually jarring all the rest of the Campaign. *Vendosme* finding that it must come to a battle, and that the management of it must lie on him and the old Generals that had opposed it, set himself to work with some reluctance, and drew up the Army on an advantageous piece of ground.

His Left flank was covered by the *Scheld*, the ground about being full of inclosures. They had a rivulet in their Front, and the village of *Hynem* advanced a little before it, in which he posted a body of Foot and some Dragoons. A marshy piece of ground, full of trees and brush-wood extended from hence, something beyond their Center: Here he posted the greater part of his Infantry, who cut down a number of trees, and laid them in such a manner as to prevent our coming at them. Near the springs which occasioned this marshy ground is a spacious plain (where our Army lay incamped for some time in the year 94); here he drew up the greater part of his Cavalry. At the end of this plain is the village *Orchies*, near the *Lys*, which covered their right flank; and here he also posted a good body of Foot and Dragoons.

It was now the 30th of *June*, O. S. the Lord *Marlborough* having got all his Troops over the *Scheld*, immediately ordered the first Brigade of Foot that passed the bridges to march up and attack the village of *Hynem*, which they did with such resolution, that the enemy made but little resistance; though they afterward made some attempts to recover it, but in vain. While this prelude to the battle was acting, the Lines were forming with all possible expedition; at which time
Prince

1708. Prince *Eugene* came up, but had left his Troops more than a day's march behind him.

The Lines being formed, our main body of Foot attacked the enemy in the marshy ground. At the same time also the village of *Orcbies* was attacked by the Foot on our Left. The main battle was fought on the plain, where most of the Cavalry on both sides were fairly engaged. As the enemy had some Foot drawn up with their Horse, the Prince of *Orange* attacked them with fifteen *Dutch* Battalions. At the same time also our Horse advanced and charged their Horse with such resolution, as made them give way at the very first charge; nor did they make one gallant charge the whole day, but still gave way as our Squadrons pushed at them. Our Generals observing this, pressed still the more upon them, until with very little resistance they were intirely routed; insomuch that they could not be prevailed upon to rally, even so far as to help off their Foot. As for the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, the Chevalier, and some of the other fighting Sparks, they were perched on a steeple in the Rear of their Army, to behold the battle; and when they saw their Horse give way, they immediately came down, and were the first that carried the news of the defeat to *Ghent*: Those in the village maintained their ground till they saw their Horse drove out of the field, on which they quitted, and made along the *Lys* toward *Ghent*: But their Foot that were drawn up with the Horse on the plain, met with the usual fate of such, that is, they were cut to pieces. The Prince of *Orange* having dispatched these with the help of the Horse, wheeled with his Battalions on the Right flank of their main body of Foot in the marshy ground, and fell upon them; and they being hard pressed both in Front and Flank, made down to the *Scheld*, where were such inclosures that our Horse could not come at them; and the Foot being fatigued, could not follow

low them far. These made toward *Ghent* with the crowd; and never thought themselves safe till they had passed through it, and were drawn up along the canal, that runs from thence to *Bruges*.

The loss of the enemy was computed to be near 5000 killed, and as many taken, their Foot being the greatest sufferers. As for their Horse, though a great number of them were the Household Troops attending the Princes of the Blood, yet they made but a poor shameful fight of it, and saved themselves by their horses heels. Our loss was no more by an exact computation, than 824 killed, and 2146 wounded. We took also a great many Cannon, Standards, Colours, Kettledrums, &c.

In this battle, his Highness, the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, (now *George II.* of *England*) distinguished himself with singular bravery, and had his horse shot under him, as he charged at the head of his father's Troops.

The day after the battle, the Duke sent a detachment to take possession of the Lines of *Warnton*; and the day following Prince *Eugene's* Troops joined us. And now a council of war was held, in which the siege of *Lisle* was resolved on.

But here I must take leave of the Army for some time; for our Colonel, Lieutenant-General *Ingoldby*, being appointed Commander in chief of the Troops in *Ireland*, (on the death of Lord *Cutts*) on his arrival in that kingdom, found them very defective in their discipline, especially the Foot. Whereupon he applied to the Duke of *Marlborough* to suffer me to go thither, in order to introduce among them the discipline practiced in *Flanders*. Accordingly I left the Army at *Helchin*, embarked at *Helvoetsluys*, arrived soon after at *Solbay*, and from thence proceeded for *Dublin*. I continued two years disciplining the Foot of that Kingdom, in which time all the Regiments of Foot passed through my hands. When I had finished

1708. nished the work, the Government ordered me a gratuity of 200*l.* and then I returned to *Flanders*.

I left the Army then, (as has been related) at *Helchin*, on their march toward *Lisle*. They invested the City on the 2d of *August* O. S. Prince *Eugene* and the Prince of *Orange* under him carryed on the siege with fifty Battalions, and forty Squadrons, while the Duke and the Veldt-Mareschal covered them with the rest of the Army.

The defeat at *Oudenard* was a heavy stroke to the *French* Court: But their concern was much greater, when they found that their beloved City of *Lisle* was invested. The King had expended vast sums of money in pulling down the old buildings, and laying out the streets in a most regular and spacious manner. His famous Engineer *Vaubon* had exerted his utmost skill, as well in the beautiful and exact model of the new buildings, as in its noble and extraordinary fortifications; insomuch that his Majesty came thither to see it, and named it *Petit Paris*.

Upon the defeat of their Army, they were apprehensive that the Allies would lay siege to it; and as our Generals could not possibly invest it sooner than they did, the *French* had time to supply it, with all manner of provisions, and stores in abundance. The Mareschal *Bouffliers* also, who was Governour of it, had got in with a good body of Troops; so that the Garison consisted of 14,000 regular Troops, besides a number of inhabitants that were of service on many occasions. They had likewise sent orders to the Duke of *Berwick*, to bring all the Troops that could be spared from the *Rhine*, to reinforce the Duke of *Burgundy*. He arrived accordingly toward the end of *August* with 14,000 men, and incamped between *Douay* and *Tournay*, to cover that part of the country from our parties and foragers. At the same time the Duke of *Burgundy* passed through *Ghent* with the Army

Army, and marched up to the *Scheld*, leaving *La Motte* with 10,000 men to take care of his new conquest, and having repassed the *Scheld* near *Tournay*, he joined the Duke of *Berwick*. In short they had drained all their Garisons far and near, and had drawn together an army of 120,000 and upwards, exclusive of the detachment under *La Motte*. On the other side the Allies were obliged to keep strong Garisons at *Oudenard*, *Brussels*, and other places, to keep open a communication with the other side of the *Scheld*, from whence they had all their provisions and stores; so that they had 100,000 men only, both to carry on the siege, and at the same time to cover it against that numerous Army. This gave the *French* Court great hopes, not only that the siege must be raised, but also that they might soon be revenged of us for the affront at *Oudenard*. Accordingly they sent positive orders to oblige us to raise the siege, or to give us battle; however to act with caution.

The Duke of *Marlborough* lay with the covering Army, at some distance without the line of circumvallation; and was not much more than half the number of the enemy, whereupon the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Vendosme*, and *Berwick*, advanced up to him in order of battle, and seemed determined to attack him. Prince *Eugene* observing this, came and joined him with such Troops as could be spared from the siege, leaving the Prince of *Orange* with a sufficient number to guard the trenches. The enemy drew up within cannon-shot of us, at which time both sides began to cannonade each other with great fury; our Generals expecting every moment, when they would advance to begin the battle: But their hearts failed them, and when it grew dark, they drew back about half a league. Our Generals found by this, that they were afraid to venture a battle; and that their design was rather to protract the siege by alarming us frequently, and to oblige us to waste
our

1708. Our Ammunition in cannonading, which might be wanted at the siege. They therefore caused a strong intrenchment to be thrown up along the front of the Army, to cover their men from the enemy's Cannon; and then Prince *Eugene* returned with his Troops to the siege. Three days after the enemy advanced as before, and began to cannonade us; and Prince *Eugene* with a few Squadrons only, came again to the Duke. They continued cannonading all that day, and at night lay down on their arms, which looked as if they designed to attack us early next morning. Our Army also lay on their arms all night, and Prince *Eugene* sent for the rest of his Troops, who were up with him before it was day. In the morning the enemy began to cannonade, and continued it the whole day, to very little purpose. We fired but seldom, and when it grew dark, they drew off very silently, and made no further attempts in that way.

Next day the *French* Generals held a grand consultation, in which all agreed that it was not safe to attack the Duke of *Marlborough* in the situation he was in; and thereupon they came to a resolution of cutting off our communication with our Garisons on the other side of the *Scheld*; by which means we should be deprived of all provisions and necessaries for carrying on the siege. They sent an express to Court with an account of what they had done, and what they proposed to do; and were answered, Any way, so they could preserve *Lille*. On the return of the express they marched and passing the *Scheld* a little below *Tournay*, they stretched their Army along that side of the river. They then threw up an intrenchment all the way to *Oudenard*, and continued it round the town on to *Gaver*, which effectually answered their design in that respect. But the Lord *Marlborough* who never wanted a ready thought, was apprehensive of all this; and had already sent expresses to *England* and

and *Holland*, to desire they would immediately send great stores of provisions and ammunition to *Ostend*. It happened very lucky at this juncture, that Lieutenant-General *Earl*, who had embarked with 7000 Foot designed for *Spain*, was detained at *Spithead* by contrary winds. He thereupon was ordered to take in great store of provisions and necessaries, and sail directly for *Ostend*. Upon this the Duke marched the covering Army to *Rosselaer*, to be at hand to send escorts to bring up the convoys. As soon as *Earl* arrived, he immediately sent off a convoy of 600 Waggon; and the Duke ordered Major-General *Webb* with 6000 Foot, and about 100 Horse to bring it up. The fate of *Lisse* depended in a great measure upon the success of this affair; for at this time all manner of provisions began to grow very scarce, and the ammunition of the besiegers began to fall short.

The Duke of *Burgundy* had an account of all this, and ordered *La Motte* to march with a body of 24,000 Horse and Foot, and 12 pieces of Cannon, to intercept this Convoy. *La Motte* came up with *Webb* as he was passing on the back of the wood of *Wynendale*. Upon his appearing *Webb* drew up his men within an open in the wood, by which both his flanks were covered. He was drawn up in four Lines, and the situation is such, that *La Motte* could not bring more men in front to attack him, than he had to defend himself.

La Motte drew up his Foot in nine Lines, and his Horse in the Rear of them, and began to cannonade: This however did little execution, as *Webb* had ordered his men to lie flat on the ground while the Cannon were firing. *La Motte's* Foot advanced, and attacked *Webb's* several times, but were still repulsed with considerable loss. The Duke being informed of *La Motte's* design, ordered Major-General *Cadogan* to march with a good body of

1708. Horse to reinforce *Webb*; he upon hearing *La Motte's* Cannon, hastened his march, and *La Motte* on the first sight of his Squadrons, immediately drew off with great precipitation, leaving all his Cannon, and a great many Men killed and wounded behind him. In consequence of this Action, that great convoy arrived safe; and this in effect was the taking of *Lisle*. *Webb* very deservedly acquired great honour and reputation by this gallant Action; but then he spoiled all by making it the subject of his conversation on all occasions. This he should have left to fame, which seldom fails to give the Hero all due praise, and does him infinitely greater honour than all his own vain boasting. And after all, had not *Cadogan* come up with his Squadrons, it would be hard to say what might have been the consequence.

While the covering Army lay at *Rosselaer*, the brave Veldt-Marshal *De Auverquerque* died in the eightieth year of his age. He had served his country from his youth, and distinguished himself in many gallant actions; was regretted by all, and had been singularly esteemed by the Duke of *Marborough*.

Bouffliers at first had been somewhat too lavish of his Ammunition, and began now to want Powder. He found means to let the Duke of *Burgundy* know it, who was at a loss to know how to supply him, until the Duke of *Luxemburg* undertook it. His method was this. He took about 2000 choice Horse, each of which carried behind him a bag of Powder, containing about 100 Weight. These put green boughs in their hats, and marched with the Duke in great order from *Douay*. About the dusk of the evening, they came up to the outer Barrier of our circumvallation line, and pretending to be a party of *German* Horse, that had been out on an expedition, and were returned with some prisoners, the Officer opened the Barrier, and let them in:

1708.

in: From thence they rode on gently to the next Officer's guard, where there was no Barrier, and he asking some questions which the Duke did not like, they clapped spurs to their horses, and rode in a full gallop through the intervals of our Camp toward the town, but the Officer ordering his guard to fire, it gave the alarm, and the Quarter-guards turning out, and the soldiers of the camp running to their arms, all fired upon them. This set many of their Powder-bags on fire, and the fire in the crowd, catching from one to the other, many of them were blown up. In the end *Luxemburg* with about 1000 of them got safe into the Town; but not one half of them carried in their Powder with them. The rest were most of them killed or taken, a few only excepted that had not got within the Barrier. This affair happened on the very same day with the Action at *Wynendale*.

After the first great convoy, two lesser ones arrived, which just did the business. The Duke of *Vendosme* finding (when it was too late) that our Army was supplied with every thing from *Ostend*, marched a great part of his Army that way, and taking the Forts of *Plassendal* and *Leffingen*, found means by cutting the Dykes, to lay all that part of the country under water. This indeed cut off our communication effectually; but it was done too late. *Bouffliers* in a few days after, on the 12th of *October* surrendered the Town, and retired into the Citadel, with about 5000 men, which were the remains of his Garison.

The Elector of *Bavaria* who had been principally concerned in forming the schemes of this Campaign, had a notion that the inhabitants of *Brussels* would rise in his favour against the Garison and open the gates to him, if he appeared before it, with any thing like an Army. Accordingly a little before the surrender of the town of *Lisle*, he sat down before it with 12,000 men. The inhabitants (as he expected) were inclined to receive him,

1708. but were prevented by the vigilance of Count *Paskal* the Governour, who had a Garison of 5000 men in it. However he opened trenches before it, carried on his approaches, and made a lodgment on the covert-way, and such a breach as he designed to storm in a day or two; but the Governour making a sally with all his Garison, drove them from their lodgment, demolished their works, and killed a great many men. Notwithstanding this, he persisted in carrying on the siege; but as Prince *Eugene* was by this time in possession of the town of *Lisle*, the Duke of *Marlborough* marched with the covering Army toward the *Scheld*, and sent two detachments before him, one under the Lord *Orkney* and Count *Lotum*; the other under General *Cadogan* and Brigadier *Evans*: The former passed the *Scheld* at *Gaveren* below *Oudenard*; the other at *Kirkhoven* above it, without the least opposition, to the great surprize of all *Europe*, and to the scandal of the *French* arms. They had declared that they would make our Army eat their Horses, nay that they would make them all prisoners: yet now upon sight of a part of our Army only, they shamefully abandoned those mighty works, which they had boasted of so much, and without firing a Gun, they instantly dispersed and fled, leaving behind them upwards of forty pieces of Cannon, with a great quantity of powder and ball. The Duke with the main body of the Army passed at *Kirkhoven*, and directed his march to *Brussels*. Whereupon the unfortunate Elector of *Bavaria* fled by night to *Namur*, leaving all his artillery, ammunition, and sick and wounded behind him. In the end this mighty Army of *France*, which was to have done wonders this Campaign, was baffled, dispersed, and obliged to steal home different ways, leaving their beloved city of *Lisle*, a prey to the Allies; for *Bouffliers* finding that there was no prospect of relief, surrendered the Citadel, about the end of *November*.

The

The Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Berry*, *Vendosme*, and the Chevalier, stole home by the way of *Nieuport*; *Berwick* by the way of *Tournay*, and the Elector (as was said) by that of *Namur*. *La Motte* only stayed behind them, with a body of Troops to preserve *Ghent* and *Bruges*: But the Lord *Marlborough* (late in the year as it was) resolved that he should not winter in *Ghent*. He sat down before it on the 7th of *December*, O. S. and *La Motte* surrendered it on the 24th, having liberty to march home the same way his Generals had gone before him, and to take with him the Garisons in *Bruges*, and other places. This put an end to this long and glorious Campaign, to the great mortification of the Court of *France*, and to the immortal honour of our two Heroes, who now resolved to push on the War jointly in these parts.

The Duke, on his return to *England*, was received as usual by the Queen, and by both Houses of Parliament; and was indeed very justly, the joy of the whole Nation. I mention this that it may be remembered hereafter, when in a short time you will find him treated in as vile a manner, as if he had been a notorious Traytor to his Queen and Country.

As our Army had kept the field a long time the last Campaign, and as this spring was very wet, it was the beinning of *June* before we could take the field. Our first rendezvous was near *Lisle*.

The *French* Court being greatly dissatisfied at the conduct of *Vendosme*, had now appointed the the Marechal *Villars* to command in the *Netherlands*; but he would not accept of the command, if the Duke of *Burgundy* was sent with him; for *Vendosme* had laid on him the load of all the misfortunes of the last Campaign. *Villars* was looked upon at this time to be the best General in the *French* service. He was certainly a gallant enterprizing man, and had been more than a match for the Prince of *Baden* and the other Generals he had

1709. to deal with on the *Rhine* or elsewhere : But then he was intolerably vain, and full of himself ; and when any thing happened amiss under any other of their Generals, he used to shrug his shoulders, and say, *Villars cannot be every where.*

The *French* had, with great expence and labour, thrown up new lines, from the *Lys* to the *Scharp* ; and *Villars* drew up his Army behind them at *Pont-a-Vendin*. On the 18th of *June*, O. S. our Generals advanced up to him, and made preparations for attacking him in his Lines. Upon which *Villars* drained all the Garisons near him to give them a warm reception ; particularly from *Tournay* he drew 3000 of their best Troops. This was what our Generals wanted, for the very evening that these Troops had joined him, on beating Tattoo, our Army decamped, and marched away to the left. When day appeared, they found themselves before *Tournay*, which was invested immediately, and that in such a manner, that it was impossible for *Villars* to return the Troops he had drawn from thence. This sinews fretted *Villars* to the quick ; and the *French* Court was not a little concerned at it, when they found that neither *Villars*, nor any man among them were able to cope with the superior genius of our two Generals. However, as they had already tryed them all, they had no remedy left, and were obliged to continue him, and join the Mareschal *Bouffiers* with him ; the chief command being in *Villars*.

Prince *Eugene* undertook to carry on the siege, and the Duke was to cover him. The Marquis *De Sourville*, who commanded the Garison of *Tournay*, made heavy complaints at the Court of *France*, that the best of his Troops were drawn from him : However, he made a gallant defence for a month, then surrendered the Town, and retired into the Citadel.

The Citadel of *Tournay* is famous for its underground works. It is situated on a rising ground, with

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with a gentle ascent to it from the town ; and was made and fortified by the famous Engineer Major-General *Ma' Griny*, from whom *Vaubon* learned the rudiments of that art. When he had finished the underground works of this Citadel, the fame of it was such, the King came from *Paris* on purpose to view it, and was so well pleased with the performance, that he made *Ma' Griny* Governour of it. He accepted the command, and told the King, he only wished he might live to see himself besieged in it. The old Gentleman had now his wish, but not with all the advantages he expected ; for he had not a compleat Garison in it, nor did he command in chief. At which he was so much chagrined, that he did not act with his usual vigour and resolution ; and when it was taken, he quitted the Service, retired to a country-seat, and died with grief soon after.

Our approaches against this Citadel were carried on mostly under ground, by sinking pits several fathom deep, and working from thence, until we came to their Casemates and Mines. These extended a great way from the body of the Citadel, and in them our men and the enemy frequently met and fought it out with sword and pistol. We could not prevent them however from springing several Mines, which blew up some of our batteries, guns and all, and a great many men ; in particular, a Captain, Lieutenant, and forty men of our Regiment. When we had battered what was to be seen of it above ground, into a meer heap of rubbish, we yet dared not venture to attack it by storm. On the 22d of *August*, it surrendered on honourable terms ; and it was allowed on all hands, that we could not have made so easy a conquest, had not the Duke, by the feint above mentioned, obliged *Villars* to draw so many men out of it ; for now they had not enough left to man their under-ground works. Hence it was,

1709. that the few that remained, were never off duty, and they were fatigued to that degree, that their Guards had been often taken fast asleep in their Casemates.

Our Generals having taken *Tournay* without the least disturbance from *Villars*, resolved upon the siege of *Mons*; in order to which, they sent the Prince of *Hesse* with a strong detachment before them, to dislodge some Dragoons that were posted near it. Some few Regiments (of which ours was one) were left at *Tournay*, to level the approaches we had thrown up; and the rest of the Army marched after the Prince of *Hesse*. *Villars* crossed the *Scheld* near *Valenciennes*, with a design of cutting off the detachment under the Prince: But perceiving that our Army was very near him, he stopt short at *Malplaquet*; and as that place was well situated, either for disturbing the siege, or standing a battle, he set his men to work in cutting down the trees of those woods, within which he had drawn up his Army; and in throwing up several strong intrenchments, one behind another, in the intervals of the woods.

Our Generals finding that *Villars* had posted himself so near them, did not think it proper to suffer him to remain there, while they were carrying on the siege; whereupon they marched up to him, and would have engaged him that evening, had all the Army come up time enough. They therefore deferred it till the next morning; and in the mean time the Armies cannonaded each other, till night came on.

Villars seeing plainly that our Generals were determined to attack him in the morning, resolved to stand his ground; and thereupon kept his men hard at work all night, to finish the works he had begun. In the morning his Army seemed to be drawn up within a fortification, in a wood. He had the wood of *Lamert* on his Right, that of *Jansart* in his Center, and that of *Sart* on his Left. In the intervals between the woods, were

double

double and treble intrenchments ; and in short, they were in all respects so strongly posted, that it was thought we should not have attacked them : But as our two Generals were flushed with success, on they would go. So on the 31st of *August*, O. S. about eight in the morning, the battle began ; for as both Armies had cannonaded each other from the first light of day, some breaches had by this time been made in their works. Prince *Eugene* commanded on the Right, the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Tilly* on the Left, and the Duke of *Marlborough* in the Center.

General *Schulemberg*, at the head of 36 German Battalions, attacked the enemy on their Left, in the wood of *Sart* : The Earl of *Orkney*, with the other *British* Generals, attacked the Village of *Tanieres*, and the opens between the woods of *Sart* and *Jansart* : The Prince of *Hesse* attacked the village of *Blaregnies*, and the opens between the woods of *Lamert* and *Jansart* ; and the Prince of *Orange*, with other *Dutch* Generals, attacked the village of *Malplaquet*, and their Right in the wood of *Lamert*. Thus were the Infantry on both sides engaged with a most terrible fire, and prodigious slaughter. As our Infantry advanced, the Cavalry kept close in the rear of them. The battle held till near four in the afternoon, at which time *Schulemberg* broke in on their Left, and soon after their whole Army gave way. Our men immediately entered their works, when a most terrible slaughter ensued, which fell intirely on their Foot ; the Horse on either side having had little to do, till our Foot broke through their Intrenchments, and made way for them to advance.

No man could behave with more bravery than *Villars* did on this occasion, until he received a shot in his knee, which disabled him from acting, and obliged them to carry him off a little before his Troops gave way. *Bouffliers* also acted the part of

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of a brave and good Officer; for when he saw the Foot put to the rout, he drew up all his Cavalry in great order, and made a bold stand against our Horse, until the Foot made off: And then he made a gallant retreat in the rear of his flying Foot, until he got within the Lines, that run from *Quesnoy* to *Valenciennes*.

Our Generals having had enough of this dear bought Victory, did not pursue farther than to the verge of the wood; so that *Bouffieurs* retreated at his leisure. This was the most obstinate and bloody battle that had been fought in the memory of any then living; and our Generals were greatly condemned for throwing away so many brave men, when there was not any necessity of coming to a battle; for the siege might have been carried on without it. And indeed it was the only rash action that either of these great men had been guilty of in the course of the war. It was said however that the Duke of *Marlborough* was much against it, and endeavoured to bring over Prince *Eugene* to his opinion: But be that as it will, it gave a handle to his Graces enemies at home to exclaim loudly against him.

The loss was very great, and near an equality on both sides, there being upwards of 16,000 killed and wounded on each side: But we took a great many prisoners, with most of their Artillery, and a great many Colours. Their Tents and Baggage escaped us; for they had been sent off the night before the battle.

The part which our Regiment acted in this battle was something remarkable. We happened to be the last of the Regiments that had been left at *Tournay* to level our approaches, and therefore could not come up till the Lines were all formed and closed, so that there was no place for us to fall into. We were ordered therefore to draw up by ourselves, on the Right of the whole Army, opposite

posite to a skirt of the wood of *Sart* ; and when the Army advanced to attack the enemy, we also advanced into that part of the wood, which was in our Front. We continued marching slowly on, till we came to an open in the wood. It was a small plain, on the opposite side of which, we perceived a Battalion of the enemy drawn up, a skirt of the wood being in the Rear of them. Upon this Colonel *Kane*, who was then at the head of the Regiment, having drawn us up, and formed our Platoons, advanced gently toward them, with the six Platoons of our first fire made ready. When we had advanced within a hundred paces of them, they gave us a fire of one of their ranks : Whereupon we halted, and returned them the fire of our six Platoons at once ; and immediately made ready the six Platoons of our second fire, and advanced upon them again. They then gave us the fire of another rank, and we returned them a second fire, which made them shrink ; however, they gave us the fire of a third rank after a scattering manner, and then retired into the wood in great disorder : On which we sent our third fire after them, and saw them no more. We advanced cautiously up to the ground which they had quitted, and found several of them killed and wounded ; among the latter was one Lieutenant *O-Sullivan*, who told us the Battalion we had engaged, was the Royal Regiment of *Ireland*. Here, therefore, there was a fair trial of skill between the two Royal Regiments of *Ireland*, one in the *British*, the other in the *French* service ; for we met each other upon equal terms, and there was none else to interpose. We had but four men killed, and six wounded ; and found near forty of them on the spot killed and wounded.

The advantage on our side will be easily accounted for, first from the weight of our ball ; for the *French* Arms carry bullets of 24 to the pound : Whereas our *British* Firelocks carry ball of 16 only

1709. to the pound, which will make a considerable difference in the execution. Again, the manner of our firing was different from theirs; the *French* at that time fired all by Ranks, which can never do equal execution with our Platoon-firing, especially when six Platoons are fired together. This is undoubtedly the best method that has yet been discovered for fighting a Battalion; especially when two Battalions only engage each other.

The day after the battle *Mons* was invested. It held out till the 28th of *September*, O. S. and soon after both Armies went into quarters. The Campaign being ended, the *French* King renewed the negotiations for a Peace, and seemed to be very sincere. The Allies also being ready to hearken to any reasonable proposals, *Gertruydenburg* was appointed for the place of conference, and it was generally thought it would end in a Peace.

On the Duke of *Marlborough's* return to *England*, his enemies exclaimed loudly against him on account of the late battle, and the Duke of *Argyle* in particular, speeched largely against him in the House of Lords; which his Grace had not deserved from that Gentleman. However, his speech weighed very little with the House, as appears by the following Address to her Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

“ We &c. having reasons to believe that the negotiations for Peace will speedily be renewed in
 “ *Holland*, and being justly apprehensive of the
 “ crafty and insinuating designs of the enemy, to
 “ create divisions among your Allies, or by amu-
 “ sing them with deceitful expectations of Peace,
 “ to retard their preparations for War, do think
 “ ourselves bound in duty most humbly to repre-
 “ sent to your Majesty, of how great importance
 “ we conceive it is to the interest of the common
 “ cause, that the Duke of *Marlborough* should be
 “ abroad at this juncture. “ We

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“ We cannot but take this opportunity to express the great and unparalleled services of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and with all imaginable Duty to applaud your Majesty’s great wisdom in having honoured the same person, with the great character of General of your Army, and Ambassadour Extraordinary to the *States-General*. our humble opinion is, &c.

To which her MAJESTY answered,

“ I am so sensible of the necessity of the Duke of *Marlborough*’s presence in *Holland*, at this critical juncture, that I have already given the necessary directions for his immediate departure ; and I am very glad to find by this Address, that you concur with me in a just sense of the Duke of *Marlborough*’s eminent services.”

The Duke set out the very next day for *Harwich*, and landed in *Holland* about the end of *February*. The negotiations that were then on foot, soon after came to nothing. However, the joint Address of both Houses of Parliament, shews evident their sense of the Dukes extraordinary merit and services : But whether her Majesty was sincere in her answer, will appear by what soon followed.

Notwithstanding the Treaty at *Gertruydenburg*, the Allies did not in the least slacken their preparations for War ; so in the beginning of *April*, our two Generals assembled the Army near *Tournay*, and on the ninth in the evening marched up to the enemies Lines, and passed them without opposition at *Pont-a-Vendin*, and advanced into the plains of *Douay* ; our Army consisting of 155 Battalions, and 262 Squadrons.

The *French* affairs at this time were in such a situation, that *Villars* could not bring his Army into the field time enough to oppose our passing their
Lines.

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Lines. He was at this time assembling them behind the *Scharp*: But upon our marching up to him, he retired very precipitately behind the *Senset*, where there was no coming at him, leaving some of his tents and baggage behind him. Upon this our Generals invested *Douay*, in which was a Garison of 10,000 regular Troops, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Albergotti*, a brave old experienced Officer. The works were strong, and a great many of them, and well stored with all manner of necessaries.

Soon after *Douay* was invested, *Villars* had brought all his Army together. It consisted of 153 Battalions, 266 Squadrons; and then he drew from behind the *Senset*: and incamped on the plains before *Arras*, from whence he advanced and drew up within cannon-shot of the covering Army. He seemed determined to give the Duke battle, and began to cannonade us with great fury, and this brought Prince *Eugene* from the siege, with as many men as could be spared. The cannonading held till night; at which time he retired out of reach of gun-shot, and there stood looking at us all the next day. Upon this we fell to throwing up a sort of an intrenchment, to cover our men from his cannon; and then the Prince returned to the siege, and *Villars* retired to the plains before *Arras*.

Albergotti made a gallant defence, and disputed every inch of ground with us. He also made a great many desperate sallies, which played off a number of men on both sides. However, after a siege of eight weeks, he capitulated, and surrendered both the Town and Fort of *Scharp*, on the 18th of June, O S.

After the surrender of *Douay*, our Generals advanced up to *Villars*, to try if he would stand a battle: But he thought fit to retire behind the *Senset*, where he secured his Army, and at the same time

time prevented us from laying siege to *Arras*. 1710. Upon this we invested *Bethune*, which surrendered the ninth of *August*. We afterward laid siege to *Aire* and *St. Venant* at the same time. The latter surrendered in a fortnight : But *Aire* held out till toward the end of *October*. While we lay at this siege, provisions happened to fall short ; for a party from *Ypres* had destroyed our boats loaden with provisions and stores, as they were coming to us up the *Lys*. The country about *Aire* indeed is noted for its great produce of all sorts of grain : But the enemy had removed it out of our reach. However, we met with a considerable supply, by means which I fear will scarcely be believed by any, but those that saw it. But fact it is, that the soldiers found concealments under ground, which the Mice had laid up for their winter store, and that in such abundance, that it was a great relief to us toward the end of the siege. These hoards were from four to six feet under ground, and in many of them our men found some pecks of corn. The siege being ended, both Armies went into winter-quarters.

Such had been the progress of her Majesty's Arms for several Campaigns successively, all these conquests had been made by the Allies, the War was brought to the very borders of *Old France*, their Armies cowed and beaten in all places, their finances sunk to a very low ebb, and the whole Kingdom reduced to a miserable condition ; and yet to the surprize of all men, old *Lewis*, then turned of seventy, still persisted in carrying on the War. He alledged that the Allies insisted upon very severe terms, though they required no more than that he should restore what he had wrested from his neighbours, and that *France* might be reduced to the bounds within which he found it ; that so it may not be in the power of that aspiring Nation to disturb the repose of *Europe*, as it had done for upwards of sixty years past. His proposals of Peace were

1710. were always insidious, and were made with no other intention but that of creating jealousy and dividing the Allies, which at length he effected, to the great reproach of the *British* Nation: Or rather of a *British* Ministry; for it was as much against the sense, as against the honour and interest of the Nation.

While Prince *George* of *Denmark* lived, he kept the Queen steady: But having lost her bosom friend, she lay open to the insinuations of her new favourites. Among these the first was Mrs. *Hill*, (afterward Lady *Masbam*) who had been recommended to the Queen by the Dutchess of *Marlborough* (not above twelve months before) for her Tire-woman. She being a crafty woman, had in this short time insinuated herself so far into her Majesty's affections, that she prevailed on her to change that wise and faithful Ministry, which had raised the glory of the *British* Nation above any that had gone before them. The first she began with was the Earl of *Sunderland* Secretary of State. She proceeded next to displace the Earl of *Godolphin*, and in fine never stopt till she had made a thorough change.

This new female Favourite had prevailed on the Queen to make Mr. *Harley* Prime Minister and sole manager of the Treasury. His merit (I presume) was that having been lately Secretary of State. He was dismissed from his office, on account of *Greg*, one of his Clerks, who was executed for holding a secret correspondence with the enemy. He had also this farther merit, that he had employed *Valiere* and *Bara*, two vile *Frenchmen*, as his spies, who had been apprehended for carrying intelligence to *France*.

Mr. *St. John*, for his bright parts, and ready wit, had been brought in by the old Ministry, to be Secretary at War. His other extraordinary qualifications were not then known; for he turned out after

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terward a very vicious and profligate man, and was intirely devoted to the interest of the Pretender. These qualifications, but in particular the last, recommended him so effectually to the good graces of Mrs. *Hill*, that he was made principal Secretary of State. He was afterward created Viscount *Bul-linbroke*, as was *Harley*, Earl of *Oxford* and *Mor-timer*; and between these two, and their Patroness Mrs. *Hill*, the whole affairs of the nation were transacted.

This unaccountable and sudden turn in the *British* Court, surprized all the Allies. Had *England* at this time stood firm to her engagements, *France* must have submitted to any terms we should grant her: But when the *French* King found all these alterations made in the Court of *London*, and saw clearly that several of his friends were brought into the new Ministry; it revived the old Gentleman's heart once more, and put him off from closing with the Allies.

As the old Ministry is now retiring to make way for one of a very different stamp: We cannot in justice take leave of them, without observing to their honour, that it was in their administration (on the death of the Duke of *Glocester*) that the succession of the Crown was settled on the Protestant Line, in the present Royal Family; the happy effects of which are felt not by *Great Britain* only, but also by all the Protestant Powers of *Europe* at this day.

It was they that assisted the late King *William* of glorious memory, in cementing the present Grand Alliance; and, as they were for the most part continued by her Majesty, it was they who assisted her in carrying on the War, hitherto with wonderful and surprising success. It was they also who had the glory of effecting the Union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; a work which had been often attempted; but it was reserved for their super-

1710. rior wisdom to perfect it. In short throughout their whole administration, the affairs of the Nation were conducted both wisely and happily ; and as they were charged by their successors with imbezeling the publick Money, it gave them an opportunity of vindicating their integrity to the satisfaction of every honest man in the Nation.

The conduct of their worthy successors comes next under our consideration. And here it will not be doubted, that the *French* King soon made it his business to feel the pulse of the new Gentlemen ; and it is beyond question that he found them much more tractable than their predecessors. The leading men of them came poor into the Ministry ; and as much was expected from them, it was necessary to bribe high. Hence it was, that the *Sun-Guineas* which were coined in *France* on this occasion, became in a short time as common in *England*, as our own. This soon brought on a secret Treaty in *London*, between the two Courts, which was carried on for some time before it was discovered by the Allies. As soon as they came to the knowledge of it, their Ministers complained loudly of this unfair method of proceeding, as being directly contrary to the stipulations of the Grand Alliance ; to which our Ministry replied impudently, (without having the least regard for her Majesty's honour) that it was impertinent in them to inquire into the Queen's affairs. At the same time it was said, her Majesty knew little of what they were doing, except what they were pleased to tell her. On this occasion they caused several pamphlets to be published, wherein they condemned the Allies for not furnishing their quotas, and asserted several other notorious falsehoods ; all which they made appear in their answers. But this was designed to pick a quarrel with them, and to blind the eyes of the Nation ; in which last they succeeded but too well. This was a bold stroke at their first setting out ; and

and now the *French* Ministers began to speak in a language very different from what they had lately made use of: There was yet one material point, which the Partizans of *France* were very solicitous about; and that was to have the Duke of *Marlborough* turned out: But as *France* was something backward in coming up to their terms, they reserved him for another Campaign.

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My Lord *Marlborough* was greatly chagrined at all these monstrous proceedings, and daily expected to be dismissed with the rest of his friends; for now this great man, who had been so long the darling favourite of the Queen, could not be admitted to her presence, but when she had a crowd of his enemies at her elbow; so that he could not have an opportunity to expostulate matters with her. He had then thoughts of laying down all his employments of himself; but by the pressing instances of the Allies, and all his friends, he was prevailed on to make the following Campaign.

In the month of *April* the Duke of *Marlborough* met Prince *Eugene* at the *Hague*, where they settled matters for the operations of the Campaign. The Army was ordered to assemble at *Douay*, where our two Generals reviewed them separately. The Prince's forces were 47 Battalions, and 111 Squadrons; those belonging to the Duke were 94 Battalions and 145 Squadrons. The whole amounted to 141 Battalions, and 256 Squadrons. Marshal *Villars* at the same time assembled the *French* Army behind the *Senfet*, and found them to be 146 Battalions, and 227 Squadrons.

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The *French* Court had last winter concerted matters with the Elector of *Bavaria* to send him with a body of Troops this spring into his own Country, to kindle the war again in the heart of *Germany*. The Emperor *Joseph* also died about this time, and both these incidents obliged Prince *Eugene* to march his Troops with all the expedition he could up to

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the *Rhine*; as well to secure the election of *Charles* the late Emperor's brother, as to prevent the Elector from marching into his own Country; and he had the good fortune to come up time enough to effect both.

When the Prince marched off, *Villars* sent a detachment to the *Rhine*, of 40 Squadrons and 36 Battalions; so that he still out-numbered the Duke by 42 Squadrons, and 16 Battalions.

Before I enter on the particulars of this Campaign, I must premise that Marechal *Villars* was esteemed at this time, the best General in the *French* service; and in fact he had made it appear upon several occasions that he was a gallant enterprizing man. Now as he had a force superior to the Duke, it was expected by most men that he would do something very extraordinary; but it was not doubted by any, but he would at least defend his Lines, which were reckoned almost impregnable. In either case the Duke's enemies at home hoped for an opportunity of exclaiming against him; for whether he lay idle the whole Campaign, or suffered himself to be affronted by *Villars*, it would have given some colour for what they had often asserted, that he could do nothing without Prince *Eugene*.

Notwithstanding the number of the enemy, the Duke had a great desire to come to a battle with them; in order to which as soon as Prince *Eugene* marched off, and *Villars* had sent the detachment to the *Rhine*, he advanced into the plains of *Lens*, and encamped about two leagues from their Lines: but *Villars*, as was believed, had orders not to stir from behind his Lines, and was very punctual in observing them. These Lines extended from *Dunkirk* to *Arras*, and were made very strong with several fortified places on them. From *Arras* the *Senset* branches out in several rivulets, which form a great morass from thence on to *Bouchain*; over this

this morass two causeys had been made for the convenience of the country people. The uppermost of these was called *Arleux*, and as this was the best and largest, *Villars* had caused a strong Fort to be built on the higher end of it, the other about half a league below it, was called *Bachablan*, and not being of that importance, it had only a Redoubt thrown up before it.

When the Duke found he could not draw *Villars* from behind his almost inaccessible Lines, he set that great genius of his to work, and formed as noble a scheme for passing them, as is perhaps to be met with in history; and it is very well worth while to remark all the various steps and stratagems he made use of to effect it. He saw plainly that there was no possibility of passing the Lines, but at these causeys, and for that purpose he wanted to have the Fort of *Arleux* demolished. He knew he could take it when he pleased, and demolish it when it was in his hands; but he knew also that if he demolished it, *Villars* would certainly rebuild it whenever he turned his back. His Grace's scheme therefore was to manage matters in such a way, as that *Villars* himself should demolish the Fort; and it was with this view, he first resolved on taking it. The matter being thus fixed, he made a strong detachment of Horse and Foot, in order to attack the Fort of *Arleux*. This detachment was to be commanded by Lieutenant-General *Hompesch*, Governour of *Douay*, and was ordered to encamp on the glacis of that Town, until materials were prepared for carrying on the siege.

Hompesch and most of the General Officers lay in the Town, and those of them who lay in the Camp, were not under any apprehension of danger, as they were immediately under the cannon of *Douay*; insomuch that they neglected to keep the common outguards of their Camp.

1711. *Villars* had an account of this, and immediately ordered a good body of Horse and Dragoons to pass the morafs at *Arleux*, *Bachablan*, and *Bouchain*, (the farthest of them not being more than two leagues and a half from *Douay*.) They joined about a league from our Detachment, and *Villars* putting himself at the head of them, they marched with all the silence imaginable; till about twelve at night, without being so much as challenged by any one Centry, they fell upon the Right flank of our Horse, trampling and cutting down all before them; and had they not fallen to plunder too soon, (a bewitching thing to soldiers of all nations) they might have drove through our whole Detachment; but while they were rifling the Horse, the quarter-guards of the Foot firing on them, gave the alarm to the Foot Regiments; and these running out in their shirts, fired among them at random, and in great confusion in the dark, which however soon made them scamper off. They suffered little or nothing, but killed and wounded many of our Troopers, and carried off a considerable number of our horses. This was indeed a bold push, and might have been fatal to the whole Detachment, had it been rightly conducted. It was without question the only affront which the Duke had ever received from any of the *French* Generals; and even this was not the fault of his Grace, but of his Officers. However *Villars*, who was naturally vain, boasted greatly of it, and it was magnified prodigiously in the *Paris* gazettes. But none were better pleased at it, than our own Gentlemen at the helm.

My Lord *Marlborough* bore all this with his usual temper, and went on with his scheme. Four days after, all things being in readiness, he ordered General *Hompesch* to march and lay siege to *Arleux*; which he took in eight days; while *Villars* who

who was not quite an *English* mile from it, stood looking on from the other side of the morafs. As soon as it was taken, the Duke gave orders to repair the breaches of it instantly, and to add several new works to it. Then leaving a slender Garifon in it, away he marched the Army upwards of fifteen leagues on a stretch to the right. *Villars* at the same time marched his Army within his Lines up that way; but left a Detachment behind him who immediately passed the morafs, and laid siege to *Arleux*. On this the Governour sent an exprefs to the Duke, to let him know that unless he was speedily relieved, he must give up the Fort, the works being in such a condition that he could not hold out three days. The Duke was arrived at *Cote* before the exprefs overtook him, and had given orders that the Army should lay in all the forage they could get; which looked as if he designed to settle for some time in that Camp.

On the arrival of the exprefs, he seemed very much cast down, and immediately ordered General *Cadogan* to march, with all the Grenadiers of the Army, and forty Squadrons to the relief of *Arleaux*. Accordingly *Cadogan* marched, but not in such haste as the occasion seemed to require; so that by the time he had advanced as far as *Lens*, he had an account that *Arleux* was taken, and that the enemy were hard at work in demolishing it. This gave *Villars* another occasion of bouncing, and he signified to the *French* King, that he had brought the Duke of *Marlborough* to his *ne plus ultra*. This it seems was the Motto of his Grace's Coat, and the Marechal was pleased to be witty on it. His enemies at home exclaimed loudly on this occasion, and indeed his friends seemed to allow that he had not acted with his usual prudence and conduct. What added to our concern was, that the Duke seemed to take it much to heart; for upon *Cadogan's* return, he appeared to have lost

1711. his wonted calmness of temper, became peevish, saw little company, and said publickly in a sort of a passion, that he would be even with *Villars*, intimating that he would at all adventures, attack him in the post he was in. The Lines here were on an open plain, between the head of *Senfet* and the *Canche*, where he had neither river nor morass before him, but the Lines of themselves were prodigious strong, having a double Fausse before them. *Villars* hearing how much the Duke was concerned at his taking and demolishing the Fort of *Arleux*, that he had expressed himself in so warm a manner, and was determined to attack him in the post he was in, prepared to give him a warm reception; and not being content with the Troops he then had, he not only drew all the Troops and Cannon that could be spared from *Arras* and *Cambray*, but did not leave a man to guard the Lines, from the post he then occupied, all the way on to *Bouchain*. And now being thus prepared, he sent an express to his Court, to let them know that he did not doubt, but in a few days, he should give them a good account of the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Army.

My Lord *Marlborough* still continued in a fullen dissatisfied humour, and notwithstanding that *Villars* was so strongly posted, he seemed determined to attack him. In order to which, the morning after *Cadogan* returned, he sent off all the heavy Baggage, and with it twelve Squadrons and six Battalions, directing their march toward *Douay*. Next day he sent off all the lumber of the Train, with more Squadrons and Battalions; and the day following he slipt off all the Artillery, except a few light Field-pieces; in short he sent off all the wheel-carriages of the Army, insomuch that he did not reserve a Coach or Chaise for himself; with these also went off some Squadrons and Battalions.

And now in this flying condition he marched up to *Villars*, and encamped at *Villar-Brulain*, with-
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in a small league of his Lines. He immediately ordered the Horse and Dragoons to cut fascines, and carry them into the plain between our Camp and their Lines, which *Villars* could easily perceive. Early next morning the Duke rode out with our General Officers to reconnoitre the enemies Lines: All the Grenadiers of the Army, with eighty Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons having marched out before, in order to cover him in case the enemy should sally out upon him.

I was posted with my Company under the command of Brigadier *Durel*; and as this affair seemed to have something extraordinary in it, I desired he would give me leave to ride out with the Duke, in order to make my observations. This was readily granted, and thereupon I kept as near his Grace as I possibly could. He rode upwards of a league along their Lines, as near as their cannon would permit. From thence I could discern plainly by the help of a prospective, that the Lines were very strong and high, and crowded with men and cannon, and that the ground before them was levelled and cleared of every thing that might be any kind of shelter to those that approached them. Notwithstanding all this, the Duke's countenance was now cleared up, and with an air of assurance, and as if he was confident of success, he pointed out to the General Officers, the manner in which the Army was to be drawn up, the places that were to be attacked, and how to be sustained. In short he talked more than his friends about him thought was discreet, considering that *Villars* had spies at his very elbow. And indeed some began to suspect that the ill treatment he had met with at home or the affront he had lately received from *Villars*, might have turned his brain, and made him desperate.

When I found the Duke had almost done, I returned to my post; at this time I observed General *Çadogan* steal out of the crowd, attended by
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one servant only, and he made all the haste he could to Camp. I did not think much of this circumstance at that time : But on his return to the Duke's quarters, there were forty *Hussars* waiting for him, with whom he slept off unobserved, and made the best of his way to *Donay*. The Brigadier on my return asked me what my opinion was ? I told him what I had observed of the Lines, and what I heard the Duke say ; and yet that I could not help thinking, that his Grace had something else in his head. He replied, that the Duke was determined on it, and that he would certainly attack *Villars* in those very Lines. Soon after the Duke returned to Camp, he gave orders that the Army should prepare for battle, against the next morning.

And now both Armies were big with thought, what was to be the fate of the next day. *Villars* longed for its coming ; his Army was no less impatient, being assured of having full satisfaction for all the affronts they had received from the Duke. On the other hand, we plainly saw, that things had but a dismal aspect : We knew that our Army had been considerably lessened by the many detachments, that had been sent off, insomuch, that the enemy was near double our number : Our heavy Cannon also had been sent off ; by all which we concluded, that the Duke was become desperate, and cared not what became of himself or the Army. These were our apprehensions for the remaining part of the day. But on our beating Tattoo, to our great joy, orders came along both Lines, to strike our tents, and form our Regiments with all the dispatch imaginable ; and in less than an hour, the whole Army was on a full march away to the left. This was no small surprize to us ; nor could we yet conceive what he meant by it. We continued marching all night, being favoured by the light of a bright full moon, and fine calm weather.

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A little before day, the Duke being at the head of the march, an Express arrived from General *Cadogan*, signifying, that he and General *Hompesch* had passed the Causeway of *Arleux* without opposition, between twelve and one that morning, and that they were in possession of the enemies Lines. Upon this the Duke rode off with all the Left wing of Horse; at the same time he sent an account of it to every particular Regiment of Foot, with orders to continue their march with all the expedition they possibly could. Now it is not possible to express the joy of the Army on hearing this very important piece of news; and to do them justice, never did men exert themselves more heartily on such an occasion. But as for *Villars*, he was quite stunned at it. The moment he heard it, he took with him an hundred choice Dragoons only (leaving orders for the Army to follow as fast as they could) and rode like a mad man, until he came within *Cadogan's* out-guards. He was amazed to that degree, that he was not aware of it, until he saw them surrounding him; and then ordering them to throw themselves within the walls of an old Castle that was at hand: He with two more rode through an open between our men, and got clear of us, but the Dragoons were taken.

Our Army continued their march with all the chearfulness imaginable, not making the least halt, or observing any kind of order; but every Regiment of Foot brought up as many men as they could, without waiting for any that dropped behind. The enemy also pushed on their march with the utmost expedition, insomuch, that it was a perfect race between the two Armies: But we having the start of them by some hours, constantly kept a head of them. As our Foot was marching over the plains before *Arras*, the front of their Horse appeared upon the rising grounds on the other side the *Senset*: But their Foot was a great way behind.

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1711. The front of their Horse, and the foremost of our Foot, marched in fair view of each other, sometimes within half cannon-shot; and had not the *Senset* and the *Morafs* been between us, we could not have avoided coming to blows with them. *Villars* finding that the Lord *Marlborough* had joined *Cadogan* with his Left wing of Horse, turned his march to the right toward *Cambray*. Our Regiment passed over at *Arleux* about four in the afternoon: But then half of our men dropped behind, which was the case of all the Foot, as our march had been full thirteen leagues in eighteen hours. This is a great march for a foot Soldier, with all his luggage, computed to be near fifty pounds weight. It was the third day before the last of our men came up. The Duke had foreseen this, and therefore ordered the Right wing of Horse, which brought up the rear of our march, to see all the Foot up before them. Thus did the Duke of *Marlborough* carry the *Mareschal's Lines* (which were esteemed inaccessible) by dint of art and stratagem only, and without the loss of a man. And indeed, never did a player on the stage, act a part to greater perfection, than did his Grace through the whole course of this complicated scheme. As the success of it depended intirely on its being kept secret, it was communicated to a few only, and for the most part to such, as were to put it in execution; these were the *Field-Deputies*, the *Prussian* General, and the Generals *Hompesch* and *Cadogan*.

The whole procedure of the affair was thus; for the scheme was so fine, that it will bear a repetition. First he determined to take the Fort of *Arleux*, and to fortify it when taken. This he knew would influence *Villars* to demolish it, which was what he wanted to have done. Then to give him an opportunity of destroying it, as well as to draw him, and his whole Force far off from that Post, he marched his Army as has been already

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ready related. But here was the master-piece of the whole; when he had brought *Villars* to answer his purpose, by destroying the Fort; he then appeared sullen, seemed to be quite disconcerted, and gave out in a passion, that he would attack him in those very Lines, which he had drawn him up to. This *Villars* readily believed, and therefore did not attend to what the Duke was doing, when he was sending off so many Squadrons and Battalions toward *Douay*; where the Governour took care to have them dispersed in the adjacent Villages, as they came up. This was managed so nicely, that it did not make any show, nor was any notice taken of it: Insomuch that the several parties that were sent thither, knew nothing of each other. Then his marching in a heat up to *Villars*: His ordering a number of fascines to be cut: His reconnoitering the Lines with so much Parade: All these were carried on with such an Air, and favoured the deceit so effectually, that he not only deceived *Villars*, but the Generals of his own Army also; for some of them believed him crazed. No notice was taken of *Cadogan's* slipping out of the Camp. He arrived at *Douay* about ten at night; where he found *Hompesch* at the head of forty Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, and twenty Battalions, drawn up on a plain at a little distance from the Town. These Troops dropped in accidentally as it were, about half an hour before *Cadogan* arrived. This was transacted between the 12th and 13th of July, O. S. From hence they marched directly to *Arleux*, which was only two small leagues from them; and here without any opposition, they passed the Causeway, and took possession of those prodigious Lines, which *Villars* in the height of his vanity, called the Duke of *Marlborough's ne plus Ultra*.

So far was this great Undertaking happily executed. And indeed it may be justly said, that Providence

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dence favoured us in it ; for in my life I never saw finer weather, which continued till all our men came up. It was a farther argument of the Duke's forecast, that he had fixed this march in the time of a full moon ; for it had been next to an impossibility to have made so hasty a march in the dark. Besides which, as *Villars* had caused the Causeway to be broke up in several places, it had been very difficult for *Cadogan* and *Hompesch* to pass it without lights ; and this must have discovered the whole affair.

Now the taking these Lines was but a part of the scheme, and as one step only to what was principally intended. The Duke, from the beginning, had his eye on *Bouchain*, this was the main point ; for *Bouchain* is a Fortress situate on this Morass, which opens a passage into the Kingdom of *France*. We lay on our arms two days, and in this time we had a good many of our Field cannon and pontoons, &c. brought to us from *Douay*. The next day we passed the Morass ; and here we found that *Villars* had drawn up his Army about half a league in our Front, with the Right wing close to the works of *Cambray*, his Left covered by a Morass, and along his Front were several hollow ways ; so that he was very strongly posted.

My Lord *Marlborough* having received every thing he wanted from *Douay*, drew up his Army in order of battle ; and then ordering them to face to the left, we marched in this manner at mid-day, over a fine plain, along *Villars's* Front, toward the *Scheld*, and so near him, that he now and then saluted us with a cannon-ball, which was all the disturbance he gave us. Now, although his orders might have been, not to fight, unless it were in defence of his Lines, yet surely in the present conjuncture, when he had so fair an opportunity, he might well have answered it, had he given the Duke battle, in order to drive him back
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again : Especially as he saw, that he was marching to *Boucain*, to take post on those very Lines, which he had such positive orders to defend. But the truth is, *Villars* was so baffled and confounded, that he knew not what to do, against an antagonist so vastly superior to him, in all respects.

When we came up to the *Scheld*, the Duke drew up the Army fronting the Right of the enemy. Here we stood looking at each other, while our bridges were laying. These were not finished till near sun-set ; at which time the Duke ordered the Army to pass, leaving Lieutenant General *Ross* with the Cavalry of the Right wing, and all the Grenadiers of the same wing, to bring up the rear. By the time it was day, the whole Army had passed, the bridges were taken up, and we were on a full march to *Boucain*, which was above two leagues from the place, where we passed the *Scheld*.

Boucain is situated at the confluence of the *Scheld* and the *Senset*, in the midst of the Morafs, which is not as broad here as above. It is a small Town, but strongly fortified ; it's works extending from one side of the Morafs to the other.

The day after we came before it, bridges were laid over the *Scheld*, and the Morafs below the Town, over which the Duke ordered General *Fagel* to pass with forty Squadrons and thirty Battalions, in order to carry on the siege on that side, which is easiest of approach ; and also to keep open a communication with *Douay*, *Marchienes*, and other Garisons on that side. Our Regiment was of this detachment. The Duke took up his Quarters at *Avoinesecq* on the French side of the Town, as well to have an eye on the motions of *Villars*, as to see the siege carried on, on that side.

Villars by this time had recovered out of the panick that had seized him ; and being very sensible, of what fatal consequence it must be to *France*,
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should *Bouchain* fall into the hands of the Allies : He took courage, and resolved to do his utmost to prevent it ; yet he dreaded much the consequence of a battle. On the other hand, as this was the principal point of the Duke's whole scheme, he was resolved to take it, cost what it would.

The day we came before *Bouchain*, *Villars* marched his Army between the *Scheld* and the *Senfet*, as near the Town as the Morafs would permit, and incamped within cannon-shot of the Duke, the *Scheld* being between them. From thence he sent General *Albergotti* the same day, with a good body of Troops over the Morafs and *Senfet*, to intrench himself on the hill of *Wavrechin*, in order to preserve the line of communication which runs from thence through the Morafs, between the *Scheld* and *Senfet* to the Town of *Bouchain* ; for he judged that from this post he could at any time relieve the Town, and prevent us from carrying on the siege on that side. When the Duke observed the French Troops on the hill of *Wavrechin*, he imagined they were posted there, in order to fall on the Troops under *Fagel* ; whereupon he ordered them to return the same evening, and lie on their arms that night by the bridges. Next morning, finding the enemy hard at work on the hill, he ordered General *Cadogan* to join *Fagel*, with sixteen Squadrons and twenty Battalions, and to pass on to the other side ; and as the enemy still continued their works, the morning following he sent orders to *Fagel* and *Cadogan* to march and dislodge them from thence. When we approached near them, we observed that they had intrenched themselves up to their eyes, and that they had a large deep Fausse before them, with a number of Cannon mounted thereon. *Villars* seeing us advance, brought into the Works as many Troops as they could contain : Notwithstanding which, our Generals made a disposition for attacking them. Our *British* Grenadiers were

were ordered to march up to the top of the hill on the Left of their Works, in order to begin the attack on that side. Here we were posted in a large high-grown field of wheat, about seventy or eighty paces from their Works, expecting every moment, when the signal should be given to fall on.

I must confess, I did not like the aspect of the thing. We plainly saw, that their Intrenchment was a perfect Bulwark, strong and lofty, and crowded with men and cannon pointed directly at us: Yet did they not fire a shot great or small, reserving all for us, on our advancing up to them. We wished much that the Duke might take a nearer view of the thing: And yet we judged that he chose rather to continue on the other side, in order to observe the motions of the enemy on that side, while we were attacking them on this. But while I was thus musing, the Duke of *Marlborough*, (ever watchful, ever right) rode up quite unattended and alone, and posted himself a little on the Right of my Company of Grenadiers, from whence he had a fair view of the greater part of the enemies works. It is quite impossible for me to express the joy, which the sight of this man gave me at this very critical moment. I was now well satisfied, that he would not push the thing, unless he saw a strong probability of success; nor was this my notion alone: It was the sense of the whole Army, both Officer and Soldier, *British* and Foreigner. And indeed we had all the reason in the world for it; for he never led us on to any one action, that we did not succeed in. He stayed only three or four minutes, and then rode back: We were in pain for him while he stayed, lest the enemy might have discovered him, and fired at him; in which case they could not well have missed him. He had not been longer from us, than he stayed, when orders came to us to retire. It may be presumed, we were not long about it, and as the corn we stood in was

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1711. high, we slipped off undiscovered, and were a good way down the hill, before they perceived that we were retiring; and then they let fly all their great and small shot after us: But as we were by this time under the brow of the hill, all their shot went over our heads, insomuch that there was not a single man of all the Grenadiers hurt.

The rest of the Troops retired immediately, leaving *Villars* in possession of his post, which elated him not a little. Upon this he drew out all the Horse he had in the Intrenchment, and pursued our Squadrons that brought up the Rear. Our Troops retired faster than ordinary, in order to get out of the reach of their Cannon; which *Villars* perceiving, imagined they were flying before him, and thereupon drove furiously after them, at the head of his Squadrons. The Duke saw the thing, and ordered us to make the more haste, which brought him on with greater eagerness, until he had drawn him on toward the top of a rising ground. When our Squadrons had passed the summit of this rising ground, they were out of *Villars's* sight, and here he ordered them as they came up to face about, and put themselves in order to charge him, the moment he appeared on the top of the hill. *Villars*, not knowing any thing of the matter, came driving on; when on a sudden, our Squadrons charged him with such resolution, that they immediately broke through all those that were up with him, and would certainly have either killed or taken him prisoner, had not a Brigadier, that was close at his heels, interposed with singular bravery, and rescued his General. But the gallant Brigadier payed dearly for it, he being desperately wounded, and taken prisoner, and most of his men cut to pieces: And *Villars*, with his shattered Squadrons, was glad to scamper back in greater haste than he came on.

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The Brigadier happened, about three years before, to have taken General *Cadogan* prisoner, as he was on a foraging party, and had treated him with great civility. As soon as he was made a prisoner, he sent his name to *Cadogan*, who came to him instantly, sent him to his own Quarters, ordered several of the best Physicians and Surgeons in the Army to attend him, and when he was perfectly recovered, sent him back. This humane and generous treatment, is for the most part, the practice of all *European Nations*, when once the heat of action is over. But it must be allowed to their honour, that none are so remarkable for it as the *English* and *French*; insomuch that with them it prevails, even among the common soldiers.

My Lord *Marlborough* finding, that it must be exceeding difficult to force the Intrenchments of *Wavrechin*, called the principal Engineers of the Army to him, to know whether *Bouchain* was to be taken without removing the enemy from thence. To this they all answered in the negative, except Colonel *Armstrong*. He insisted on it, that it was to be done, and was ready to undertake the most difficult part of it. The Duke, who well knew the capacity of the man in that respect, was very well pleased, and ordered him to proceed upon it immediately. Whereupon ten Squadrons, and as many Battalions were ordered to march as soon as it grew dark, and post themselves in the Valley, between *Wavrechin* and the rising ground whereon *Villars* had been ruffled. Here we stood all night with our Arms in our hands, to cover Colonel *Armstrong*, while he with 5,000 men, were throwing up works on the rising ground behind us; and as soon as day began to appear, we were ordered to retire. The Squadrons marched to their ground of incampment: But the Battalions retired into a most noble, and indeed, surprising Redoubt, with a double Fausse, which the Colonel had caused to

1711. he thrown up that night, and had mounted thereon, twenty-four large pieces of Cannon, with the British Standard of our Train flying. At the first light of day, he saluted the Enemy in the Works on *Wavrechin*, with several rounds of his Cannon.

Beside the works already mentioned, he had also thrown up a strong intrenchment, from the redoubt down to the Morass, which covered all that quarter from the insults of the Enemy; and as all this was executed in one night, it is not easy to say, whether the Duke, the Enemy, or our own Army were most surprized at it. About four in the afternoon our ten Battalions were relieved, and on coming to our ground, we pitched our tents, stript and went to bed, which was the first time our Regiment had done so, from the day we marched from *Villarbrulain*, that is from the 12th to the 25th of July. This I must say was the greatest fatigue I ever underwent at any one time of my life.

This being happily executed, the Colonel proceeded to throw up a strong intrenchment from the Redoubt round our Camp, and from thence on to the *Scheld* below the Town, which served for our Line of Circumvallation. He afterward carryed on this Circumvallation line from the *Scheld* below the town, round the Duke's camp to the *Scheld* above the town, which secured our camps on both sides of the river. But the greatest difficulty was to come; the Enemy posted on *Wavrechin*, had a communication with the town, and unless this was cut off, we should meet with insurmountable difficulties in taking the town. Here the Colonel was hard put to it; for the Enemy by keeping the sluices of the town close shut, had raised a very great inundation in the Morass on both sides of their Line of communication. But *Armstrong* being a man of invincible resolution, and extraordinary

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nary knowledge in these matters, worked through all difficulties with uncommon spirit. By the assistance of a prodigious number of hands, by the means of fascines innumerable, and by his own indefatigable labour, he at length wrought through the inundation; laid bridges over both rivers; attacked their Line of communication; drove the enemy from thence, though the cannon both from *Wavrechin* and from the town continually fired on him with great fury; and in the end carried the Line of circumvallation through the Morass, which intirely cut off all relief from the town.

And now Colonel *Armstrong* having with great applause finished what he had undertaken, and in much less time than was expected: The Duke ordered the other Engineers to go on with the less difficult parts of the siege. The approaches of our *British* attack were carried on between *Wavrechin* and the town. Here we were cannonaded and bombarded in our trenches from both; notwithstanding which in less than three weeks after opening trenches, the Governour, Major-General *De Raignan* beat the Chamade, not doubting but he should have honourable terms granted him: But he was much chagrined, when the Duke let him know, that he would not enter into any capitulation with him; and that he must not expect any other terms, than that he and his Garison should surrender prisoners of war. The Governour at first refused to submit; but as we had made two large breaches fit to be stormed; as we were lodged on their Covert-way, and had all things prepared for an attack, he at last submitted. But he exclaimed loudly against *Villars*, who stood looking on with an Army much superior to that of the Allies, and yet could suffer him to be drove to these dishonourable terms; and it is certain that the Duke treated him in this way, to humble the impotent pride and vanity of the Mareschal; otherwise he had granted him

1711. the usual honours of War. *Villars* soon after had the mortification to see the *Garison* march out with their hands in their pockets.

My Lord *Marlborough* continued the Army about *Bouchain*, till he saw all the works we had raised levelled with the ground, the breaches made up, and every thing put into such a condition, as that it might not be in the power of *France* to retake it the following winter.

This was the last Campaign his Grace ever made, and it may be justly and truly said, that it crowned all the great actions of his life. It appears plainly from the whole of this narrative, that neither *Villars*, nor all the Marshals of *France*, nor the *French* King with all his Politicians, were able to cope with him, either in the Cabinet or in the Field. His successes were so great, that he became the Terror of *France*: (who were but the other day, the bullies of *Europe*): The Ornament of *Britain*, and admired by all the world; except a villainous faction at home. It is to be hoped that *Britain*, in some fortunate age, may produce a Genius sufficiently qualified to do justice to the merit of her Hero*; in the mean time let his actions speak for him. We are next to say, how he was rewarded by his Country, for all his great and signal services.

On the change of the Ministry a new Parliament was called; and as the trial of Doctor *Sacheverel* came on about this time, that, together with his Cavalcade round a great part of the Kingdom, had so poisoned the minds of the people, with a notion that the Church was in danger, that the *Tory* party had a great majority in the House of Commons; and the Ministry being supported by them, began now to cavil with the Allies. The Lords on the other

* The Publisher hopes the Author's wish will soon be fulfilled, as it is said, that a Work of that kind is now in hand under the inspection of one of the greatest Genius's of the Age.

other hand kept stanch to their former resolutions ; they were determined, that the War should be carried on, in conjunction with the Allies, until the *Spanish* Monarchy was taken entirely from the House of *Bourbon*. Upon this twelve new Lords were brought into the House at once, which carried the majority on the side of the Ministry ; and now our secret Treaty at *London* was changed into a publick Treaty at *Utrecht*, notwithstanding the representations of the Allies in general against it : And in particular of the Elector of *Hanover*, which was so highly resented, that his Minister was forbid the Court.

The Duke of *Marlborough* still held all his employments, and it was necessary to blacken him, in order to turn him out with a better grace. Whereupon they had the assurance to attack him in Parliament on account of certain perquisites, which had been received not by him only, but by the late King also, and by every Commander in chief in the *Netherlands*. These were a yearly præmium paid by the Contractors for the bread for the Army ; and a perquisite of two and a half *per cent.* from the foreign troops in *British* pay. These had always been allowed to the Commander in chief, in aid of the 10,000 *l.* which was yearly granted by Parliament, for secret service. And surely, if we are to judge by the success that constantly attended all his undertakings, never was money more honestly or wisely applied to the purposes for which it was granted. If we are to give credit to his Grace's letters in relation to that affair, his intelligence cost him a great deal more. Nevertheless these Gentlemen represented it to the House as an abuse, and there it was voted, " That his accepting the bread-
" money was arbitrary and illegal ; And that the
" two and a half *per cent.* deducted from the
" foreign Troops, was Publick Money and ought
" to be accounted for." These resolutions being

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laid before the Queen, she was pleased to dismiss the Duke of *Marlborough* from all his employments; and at the same time, the Attorney-General was ordered to prosecute him. The Duke of *Ormond* was declared Captain-General in his room; and it is remarkable, that he declared he would not accept the command, unless these same perquisites were allowed him. Whereupon these very men, who voted the receiving them so great a crime in one Duke, without any hesitation confirmed them to the other. Nay, what is yet more strange, these perquisites were granted to the Duke of *Ormond* in *February*, and in *April* following the Duke of *Marlborough* was prosecuted for receiving them. Was ever any thing equal to this? Or is it possible that Posterity can believe it? But the thing was so flagrant, that the Attorney-General was ashamed of the prosecution, and dropt it.

When the Party failed in a publick prosecution, they stooped so low as to let loose their little mercenary scriblers at him. In one of their celebrated papers called the *Examiner*, I remember to have read a passage wherein the Author asserts, "That the Duke of *Marlborough* was naturally a very great coward: That all the victories and successes that attended him, were owing to meer chance, and to those about him; for whenever he came to be engaged in action, he was always in a great hurry, and very much confounded upon every little emergency that happened; and would cry in great confusion to those about him, what shall we do now?" Had I not read these very words, I should never have believed, that any man could have the face to publish so notorious a falshood. But however base and scandalous all this was, it answered the purposes of the Faction. It inflamed a *Jacobite* mob against the Duke to that degree that it was not thought adviseable for his Grace to continue in the Kingdom; so he and his

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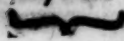
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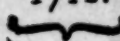
his Dutcheſs embarked with a ſmall retinue at Dover on board the *Oſend* packet-boat, where he landed ſoon after. From thence he made a Tour into Germany, to viſit his Principality of *Mindelheim*; which is elegantly ſet forth by Mr. *Addiſon* in the following lines:

*Go mighty Prince, and thoſe great Nations ſee,
Which thy victorious Arms did once make free;
View that ſam'd Column, where thy name engrav'd
Shall tell their Children, who their Empire ſaved:
Point out that Marble; where thy worth is ſhewn
To every grateful Country, but thy own.
O Censure undeſerv'd, unequal Fate!
Who ſtrive to leſſen him that made thee great.
Who, pamper'd with Succeſs, and rich in Fame,
Extol'd his Conqueſts, but condemn'd his Name.
But Virtue is a crime, when plac'd on high,
Tho' all the fault's in the Beholder's Eye.
Yet be untouch'd, as in the heat of Wars,
Flies from no dangers, but domeſtick Fears.
Smiles at the dart, which angry Envy ſhakes,
And only fears for her, whom he forſakes.
He grieves to find the courſe of virtue croſs'd
Bluſhing to ſee our Blood no better loſt.
Diſdains in factious Parties to contend,
And proves in abſence moſt Britannia's Friend.
So the great Scipio of old to ſhew
That glorious Envy, which his Arms had won,
Far from his dear ungrateful Rome retir'd,
Prepar'd when e'er his Country's Cauſe requir'd,
To ſhine in Peace and War, and be again admir'd.*

It may be thought perhaps that I am prejudiced againſt the men that were then at the helm, and that I am too ſanguine in favour of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and that my attachment to him may be occaſioned by favours received from him. But for my part, I never lay under any private or perſonal

1711.  sonal obligations to his Grace; on the contrary he once did me injustice by putting a Captain over my head. This however I knew he could not well avoid doing sometimes, for men in power are not to be disobliged. My zeal for the man is founded on his merit and his service, and I do him no more than bare justice. I had been an eye-witness of most of his great actions. I knew that he never slipt an opportunity of fighting the Enemy whenever he could come at them; that to the last moment he pushed on the War, with a sincere desire of reducing *France* within her proper bounds, and of securing the succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*; and it must affect every man of virtue or spirit, to see him oppressed by a set of men, who at the same time were selling their Country, and his great actions to the declared enemies of the Nation.

This winter died our Colonel, Lieutenant-General *Ingoldby*, and was succeeded by *Robert Stearn*, Esq; our Lieutenant-Colonel. He had served in the Regiment from its first establishment; and being a brave and gallant man, he rose gradually by long service and good fortune, until from an Ensign, he now became our Colonel.

1712.  I come now to the last and most inglorious Campaign of this war, which is a blot and a dishonour to the *British* Nation.

The Duke of *Ormond* was a man of expence, ambitious, good-natured, and easily imposed on; these qualifications pointed him out to the Ministry, as a proper tool to execute their purposes; but whether he was at first let into the secret of what they really designed, is yet a mystery. In the beginning of *May* he arrived at *Tournay*: The Queen having just before wrote a favourable letter to the States-General, and another to the Earl of *Strafford* (then engaged at the conferences at *Utrecht*), where-
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in she declared her resolution, that her Troops should act against *France* with the same vigour, as if there was no negotiation on foot. This letter bore date the 18th of *April*, a little before the Duke left *London*; from whence it should seem probable, that he then imagined he was to act against *France*, as the Duke of *Marlborough* had done. Notwithstanding which Prince *Eugene* had a private hint from *London*, that if the Duke of *Ormond* had not already orders not to act against *France*, he soon would. Upon which he waited on his Grace and put it home to him; his Grace replied positively, that he would fight. The Prince returned perfectly satisfied, and soon after the two Armies which were then encamped separately on the plains between *Douay* and *Marchiennes*, joined and were compleat 295 Squadrons, and 145 Battalions, amounting to something more than 122,000 fighting men.

On the 12th of *May*, O. S. they decamped and marched in four columns up to the *Scheld*; and having passed that river a little below *Bouchain*, (the Ministry's Pidgeon-house, as they were pleased to call it in derision to the Duke of *Marlborough*, on his taking it) they continued their march, and encamped on the other side of the *Sel*, between *Noailles* and *Montrecourt*. The morning after we came to this ground, our Generals agreed to ride out and take a view of the situation of the enemy. They were encamped within sight of us, their Left being close to the works of *Cambray*, their Right extending toward the head of the *Scheld*, with that river in their Front, and their number not exceeding 90,000.

All the Grenadiers of the Army, with eighty Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons were appointed to cover our Generals, and for that purpose they marched early in the morning towards *Villars's* encampment. He, at first sight of us imagined that
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1712. our whole Army was on the march, and was exceedingly surprized, having had assurances from Court, that the Duke of *Ormond* would not act against him: But when he perceived us still advancing, he said in a passion, that *France* was undone and betrayed by *England*. And immediately ordered his Artillery and heavy Baggage to march with all the expedition they possibly could, until they had passed the *Somme*; and he was just upon decamping in order to march after them, when he observed our Troops to halt: But as he did not see the Army on the march after them, he concluded it to be only a reconnoitring party as it really was. This gave Monsieur great spirits, and he ordered his Artillery and Baggage to return.

Our *British* Grenadiers on this occasion marched a little way into *Picardy*, where the houses were all left desolate, the Peasants having fled beyond the *Somme* with all their best effects. On our return to camp in the evening, we found the face of affairs quite changed; for about twelve at night Sir *Thomas Hanmer* arrived at the Duke's Quarters, with a letter from Lord *Bulinbroke*, wherein he said it was the Queen's orders, that his Grace should not advance any nearer to *France*, (for they supposed him then at *Douay*) nor engage in action till farther orders. The Duke seemed very much startled at it, and having communicated it early in the morning to Prince *Eugene*, desired to be excused from riding out with him as he had promised.

Now how it came to pass, that the Queen changed her mind, so soon after the letter she wrote to the States-General, is not easy to say. It is not altogether certain, whether *Bulinbroke* may not have wrote the fatal letter without the Queen's order; but that affair, for any thing I have been able to learn, remains a secret to this day. Sir *Thomas* was a leading man in the House of Commons, and very intimate with the Duke, and for these reasons

reasons was pitched upon to deliver the letter. The expedition he made shewed evidently his zeal for the party ; for had the Duke engaged the *French* before his arrival, their hopeful scheme, which was now almost compleated, had been dashed to pieces at once. Whether the Duke of *Ormond* was really concerned at receiving these orders, I shall not take upon me to say : But however that was, most certain it is, that he was extremely punctual in observing, not them only, but also all others of the same tendency, which came to him afterward ; and in short, went heartily into all the measures of the Party.

This occasioned great disputes in the Army, the Duke's friends alledging in his favour, that if he disobeyed the Queen's order, it must cost him his head. But to this it was answered, by those that wished well to their Country, and to the common cause, that the Duke should have considered, that he was not under an absolute but a limited Government ; that consequently he, as General and Commander in chief, was accountable not to the Queen only, but to the Nation also ; and further, that not only the General, but the Secretary and every one that advised or assisted the Queen in these destructive measures, were accountable to their Country for it. Besides the orders in Question were signed by the Secretary, and not by the Queen, which single circumstance in a case of this nature, may very well justify his disobedience. And in short had orders of such fatal tendency been signed by her Majesty, he should have known that he was answerable to the Nation, how he put them in execution.

Had the Duke considered the matter in this light (which is very consistent with the constitution of the *English* Government), what a glorious Campaign might he have made ? had he advanced as Prince *Eugene* requested, but two days march farther,

1712. ther, the *French* King must have met him with a *Carte Blanche*, rather than expose his country to be wasted by the enraged soldiery of all Nations, who longed for nothing so much as to be revenged on *France*, for the many and great devastations she had committed on all her neighbours. *France* at this time was so much reduced, that nothing could have hindered us from marching to the gates of *Paris*, and exacting any conditions we pleased; and then pray, who would dare think of calling the Duke of *Ormond* to account for disobeying the Secretary's order? would he not rather have shined in our *British* Annals, and his name have been transmitted with honour to Posterity? Soon after the arrival of King *George* the first, a Pamphlet was published in justification of the Duke's conduct; the substance of it was, to set forth how punctual he was in obeying the Queen's orders; but not a tittle of the common cause, the independency of *Europe*, or the good of his Country. The key to this whole proceeding, this mystery of iniquity is this: The party at this time reckoned they had carried their point, and were well assured that the person in whose favour the whole scheme was formed, would rather reward than call them to account for deserting our Allies, and prostituting the honour and interest of the Nation. But to return.

The Duke soon took care to acquaint *Villars* with the orders he had received, and to assure him they should be punctually observed. It is easy to judge how Prince *Eugene* was affected with all this. However to make the best of the matter, he proposed to take *Quesnoy* and *Landrecy*, in order to draw a line from the latter to *Bouchain*, and he desired the Duke to join him in besieging these places. The Duke answered, that that was disobedience to the Queen's orders, which he could not answer; he told him however, that while he continued in that Camp he would take care that *Villars* should

not

not disturb him : but added, that he did not know how soon he should have orders to march, and that then he must take care of himself. The Prince upon this marched with the *German and Dutch* Troops, and laid siege to *Quesnoy*, having first posted a body of about 14,000 men under the Earl of *Albermale* at *Denain* two leagues below *Bouchain*, in order to keep open a communication with *Douay*, *Marchiennes*, and other Garisons on that side the *Scheld*, from whence he had all his stores and provisions. As this was a post of great consequence, the Earl set all hands to work to fortify it, and at the request of the Prince and the Field-Deputies, the Duke lent them as many Pontoon-boats as laid two bridges over the *Scheld* at *Denain* : All those that belonged to his Highness being employed at the siege, except a few that were sufficient to make a third bridge only.

The day that the Prince marched to *Quesnoy*, the Duke decamped and retired with all the Troops that were in *British* pay, to the other side the *Sell*, in order to have that river in their front; the Duke taking up his Quarters at *Cateau Cambresis*. Here we lay until the Prince had taken *Quesnoy*, which was somewhat more than three weeks.

The soldiers had nothing now to do, but their Quarter-guard duty, and from a rising ground in the front of our Camp, had a fair view of that rich part of *France*, which they reckoned they had dearly earned the plunder of. They were greatly exasperated at the disappointment, and were continually murmuring at those who brought them within sight of the *Promised Land*, as they called it, and yet would not suffer them to taste the milk and honey it abounded with. Here they often lamented the loss of the *Old Corporal*, which was a favourite name they had given the Duke of *Marlborough*; and to make the matter worse, through the carelessness of the contractors, their bread was so intolerably

1712. verably bad, that it was with great difficulty the Officers could restrain them from mutinying. This prepared them for mischief, and they were resolved to pay a visit to *France*, before they left the Quarters they were then in. As forage grew scarce in our Camp, and none was to be had near us, but in *Picardy*, we had liberty by the favour of *Villiers*, to forage in that Country. It nettled our Soldiers that their General should condescend to ask leave: However they were determined to lay hold of this opportunity of tasting some of the sweets of *France*.

Upon all foragings a strong detachment was sent out the night before, under the command of a General Officer, to keep the foragers within bounds, to cover them from the enemy, and to prevent irregularities and abuses. When the detachment marched off, a number of Soldiers of all Nations stole out of Camp with their arms, they chose Officers and swore obedience to them, their principal care being to keep at a distance from the covering detachment. Among these one party of *British* Soldiers to the number of 600, came to a village called *Molain*, where the inhabitants were in arms, and had barricaded all the avenues to the Town. Upon this an engagement ensued, in which some of the soldiers fell; this enraged the rest to that degree, that they rushed up to the barrier and drove the inhabitants into the church; but as they again fired on them from thence, in their fury they set fire to the church, burnt it to the ground, and upwards of four hundred persons perished in the flames; then plundering the Town, they set it on fire; and as it grew dark, stole privately into Camp. Two days after a complaint was made to the General, and the affair was inquired into, but no discovery could be made. This was a taste of what *France* might have expected, and I mention it for

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that purpose only ; for the action in itself is utterly inexcusable.

Our Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* had by this time brought the Treaty to a conclusion ; and to our shame, clapped up a separate Peace, exclusive of our Allies, the effects of which we feel at this day. By it *Dunkirk* was put into the hands of the Queen. And now the Duke of *Ormond* had orders to march off, and quit the Allies, bringing with him all the Troops that were in *British* pay. But when he sent these orders to the Generals of the Auxiliary Troops, none observed them, except the Major Generals *Barnard* and *Wallis* : The former commanded four Squadrons of Dragoons, and one Battalion of Foot belonging to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* : The latter one Regiment of Dragoons of *Liege*. The rest declared they had orders from their Principals not to quit the Allies ; and that if he marched off, they must join Prince *Eugene*. The Duke was nettled at the thing, and told them they were to expect no further pay from the Queen.

Prince *Eugene* having taken *Quesnoy*, and being assured by most of the Generals of the *British* auxiliaries, that they had orders to join him, resolved to proceed on his Scheme, and accordingly laid siege to *Landrecy*. This was the rashest Action which that great Man had ever been guilty of. The Prince of *Anbalt Dessau* carried on the siege, while his Highness commanded the covering Army. We decamped from *Chateau Cambresis* the 16th of *June*, O. S. and the same day Prince *Eugene* was joined by most of the *British* Auxiliaries. Our first day's march was to *Avoinesecq* near *Bouchain*, where the Duke ordered a Cessation of arms, between *Great-Britain* and *France*, to be declared at the head of every Regiment ; upon which occasion it was expected they would have made a general Huzza : But instead of that, nothing was heard,

1712. but a continued His throughout the whole Army.

This, together, with the separation of the Auxiliary Troops gave the Duke great offence ; and this very afternoon he sent to *Denain*, and required that his Pontoon boats should be taken up, and delivered to him on his march the next day. The Prince and the Field Deputies requested earnestly that he would spare them a week or ten days only, and he well knew they were absolutely necessary to them, yet he would not comply.

It must be observed, that *Villars* had caused a Cessation of arms to be declared in his Camp this same day, where no doubt there were great rejoicings for it ; on which occasion he sent a Lieutenant-General to compliment the Duke. But his instructions were to press his Grace above all things, to carry off his Pontoon boats that were at *Denain*. Now whether the Duke had determined on this, before the arrival of this Gentleman, I cannot pretend to say : But certain it is, that in a very little time after, he sent a peremptory order to have his Pontoon boats taken up. It was said also, and indeed generally believed, that the *French* General brought with him two Engineers, who went in disguise with those that were sent to *Denain*, and made such observations on the Works there, as were of great use to *Villars* when he attacked that Post. This indeed might have been done without the Duke's privity : But however that was, his conduct was censured very deservedly ; inasmuch that it gave the Allies cause to suspect at least, that the affair of the pontoons, and the attack at *Denain*, might probably have been concerted between him and *Villars*. Next day being the 17th, we marched from *Avoinesecq*, and passing the *Scheld*, and the *Scharp*, we incamped at *Anchin*, where our pontoons joined us from *Denain*.

As *Dunkirk* was now put into the hands of the Queen, *Villars* was reinforced with the Troops of that

that Garifon, and of those that were round about it; by which means his Army was much more numerous than that of the Allies, the Prince notwithstanding was so obstinate that he would continue the siege of *Landrecy*; whereupon *Villars* formed a scheme for attacking the Post of *Denain*.

On the 18th, early in the morning as we were preparing to march from *Anchin*, we heard great firing toward *Denain*, from whence we concluded that *Villars* had attacked that Post. It cannot be conceived how enraged our Soldiers were, exclaiming heavily, and cursing those that had sold their good Friends and Allies to the Enemy. The day following the Duke received a fulsome letter from *Villars*, giving an account of the Action, and of the success of it. In it he ran out in large encomiums on the Duke's consummate conduct and courage, and loyalty to his Royal Mistress. Then he concludes, that the courage of the Allies was gone off with the brave *English* Troops, under his Grace's command. This Letter, though it was no more than a fulsome banter, which ought rather to have been burned than made publick, was yet handed about the Army, and many copies taken of it. The only effect it had, was to confirm the Allies in their opinion, that they had not been fairly dealt with in relation to the Pontoons; for certain it is, that the want of these was the loss of *Denain*.

The Prince had heard of *Villars's* design, and marched up to Lord *Albemarle* time enough to sustain him: But as there was but one bridge left, *Albemarle* on the approach of *Villars*, had ordered all the Baggage to pass the River on it, and by crowding on it too hastily, it broke. So the Prince was obliged to look on, while his men were cut in pieces, without being able to give them the least assistance; for it was impossible for him to get over the River, as it was exceeding deep, and it's banks steep and ouzy. In the end, every man

1712. of that great Body was either killed or taken.

This was a fatal blow to the Allies, and turned the scale altogether to the *French* side; and was the first effect of our Cessation of arms. The Prince being now cut off from his Magazines and Stores, was obliged to rise from before *Landrecy*, and march by the way of *Quesnoy* round to *Tournay*, leaving *Villars* to carry all before him. And he was not wanting to improve all the Advantages he had gained; for as Prince *Eugene* was not able to look him in the face, he in a very short time retook *Marchiennes*, *Douay*, *Bouchain*, *Quesnoy*, with some other Towns of less note. This leads me by way of digression, to express my sentiments concerning the conduct of the three great Captains of the age. I mean the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and Marechal *Villars*.

And first, as to the Duke of *Marlborough* (for I cannot forbear giving him the precedence), it was allowed by all men, nay even by *France* itself, that he was more than a match for all the Generals of that Nation. This he made appear beyond contradiction, in the ten Campaigns he made against them; during all which time, it cannot be said that he ever slipped an opportunity of fighting, when there was any probability of coming at his Enemy: And upon all occasions he concerted matters with so much judgment and forecast, that he never fought a Battle, which he did not gain, nor laid siege to a Town which he did not take. It is needless to make a repetition of his great Actions, more than this, that the last Campaign he made, notwithstanding the provocations of his Enemies, by their scurrilous Pamphlets and malicious Invectives in ridiculing his great Actions, in hopes thereby to ruffle his temper, and raise his passion, so as to put him upon doing some rash Action, which might in some measure justify, what they alledged against him. And indeed, no man but the Duke of *Marlborough*

1712.

Marlborough himself, could have borne with the invidious treatment he received. Yet with what temper did he bear all their reproaches, and with what calmness and serenity of mind, and air of grimace, did he carry on that noble Scheme he had formed to get within *Villars's* Lines, that were thought inaccessible, in which he shewed the greatest Courage and most undaunted Resolution? He was peculiarly happy in an invincible calmness of temper and serenity of mind; and had a surprizing readiness of thought, even in the heat of Battle. But the master-piece of all, was his last Campaign. The noble Scheme he formed for passing *Villars's* Lines: The infinite arts and stratagems he used to deceive him: His passing the Lines without the loss of a man: His insulting *Villars* afterward, and daring him, by marching with an inferior force at mid-day along the Front of his Army, and within cannon-shot of him: His passing the *Scheld* unmolested in the face of his Army, and taking the Fortrefs of *Bouchain*, the key and inlet into the Kingdom of *France*, while *Villars* stood looking on, advantageously posted, and with a superior force, yet not daring to interfere: All this is stupendous, and inimitably great.

In short, he confounded and baffled *Villars* to that degree, that he knew not how to act against him; which shews how far he surpassed the top Marshals of *France* in the art of War. And indeed had not I been an eye-witness of those things, I should hardly have believed them; and how this great Man was rewarded for the great honour and service he did his Country, has been already related.

As to Prince *Eugene*, the glorious Actions he had performed in *Hungary* against the *Turk*, and in *Italy* and elsewhere against *France*, evidently shew him to have been a very great man. For my part, I reckon him equal to the Duke of *Marlborough*,

1712. in every respect but this, that he had not altogether that command of temper, which was his Grace's peculiar excellency; and it was this heat and warmth of his temper, which led him once (and once only, as far as I can recollect) into a fatal mistake; this was his persisting in his resolution to lay siege to *Landrecy*, though the Duke of *Ormond* had carried off the *British* Troops. It must be allowed, he had met with great provocation; for *Ormond* had assured him, that he would act in conjunction with him against *France*, as vigorously as ever the Duke of *Marlborough* had done. Upon this he formed his Scheme, when to his surprize, all on a sudden, *Ormond* deserts him. This touched him to the quick, and in the heat of his passion, he determined to let the world see, he could execute his Scheme without him; so down he sat before *Landrecy*, not being at that time calm enough to foresee the train of fatal consequences, that probably must have attended that ill-concerted undertaking. In this single instance, the warmth of his temper misled him; and if you except this only, I judge him, in every other respect, equal to the *British* Chief.

It is my judgment (all partiality being laid aside) that I pay Marechal *Villars* all due honour, if I assign him the third place. The first affair of any consequence that he was concerned in, was in the year 1702; when he was ordered to march with a body of *French* Troops, through the *Black Forest*, to join the Elector of *Bavaria*. The Prince of *Baden* had posted himself in his way, within the Lines of *Friedlingen*, and *Villars* made a vigorous assault on the Lines, but was repulsed, and obliged to desist for the present: However, early in the Spring following, he found means, by a stratagem, to deceive the Prince of *Baden*, and joined the Elector, where they carried all before them. And could *Villars*, who was exceeding haughty, have submitted

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ted to the Elector's authority, or had the Elector taken his advice, they might have done much more : But they were each of them equally high, and therefore *Villars*, at his own request, was recalled. The year following, he was employed against the *Cevennes*, whom he subdued in a manner, by fair means. The year following he commanded the *French* Army on the *Moselle*, against the Duke of *Marlborough*, and when the Duke marched back to the *Netherlands*, he was sent to command on the *Rhine*, where, by his exquisite schemes and stratagems, he acquired great reputation. At length, when the *French* Court had tried almost all their Generals round, they pitched upon Marshal *Villars* to command in the *Netherlands*. How shamefully he was baffled there, you have already read ; and therefore, that he was not, in any shape, equal to the Duke of *Marlborough*, seems indisputable. Nor can I, by any means, put him on a level with Prince *Eugene*, notwithstanding the advantage he had over him at *Denain* : Where it was *Ormond* that gave the victory to the *French*, by withdrawing his Pontoons, basely at least, if not corruptly also.

I know it is said in favour of *Villars*, that he did more after the affair at *Denain*, than they had done in the two preceding Campaigns ; and it is true enough. But it should be remembered, that he then fought without an Antagonist, that the Allies had not a man in the Field to oppose him, and that the Garisons were not sufficiently provided for a siege, as the Allies did not suspect, that *England* would desert them. Whereas *Marlborough* and *Eugene* had always a superior Army of Veterans to contend with ; and the *French* Garisons were always abundantly supplied in every respect, which makes a very material difference in the case. But to return.

1712.

From *Anchin* we proceeded by easy marches to *Ghent*, and here we were received with open arms. Part of our Troops were quartered here, and the rest were ordered to *Bruges*. At this time the Treaty at *Utrecht* was drawing near a conclusion; and now our Plenipotentiaries found, that since the fatal blow at *Denain*, the *French* Ministers talked quite a different language from what they had done. They now receded from several things, that had been agreed on in the private Treaty at *London*; and had *France* been really Conqueror in the War, they could not well have insisted on higher terms. All the blood and treasure of ten successful Campaigns, were sacrificed at once; and the haughty Monarch of *France*, though reduced to the last extremity, now takes upon him to prescribe to *Great Britain*, and to our shame, he carried his point: For the Ministry, or I should rather say, *Harley*, *St. John*, and *Lady Masham*, had already gone such lengths, that it was too late to look back; and in the end we were obliged to submit to such terms, as the *French* Plenipo's were pleased to grant us. In particular, it had been agreed on in *London*, that *England* should be Mediator between *France* and the Allies: Yet now they would not suffer us to have any thing to do in that affair; so each party was obliged to make the best terms he could for himself. Thus ended this inglorious Campaign, to the dishonour of *England*, or rather of her Majesty, who suffered her self to be imposed on, and wholly governed by a few ill-designing Favourites.

This occasioned that satyrical saying of the Duke of *Buckingham*, when the articles of the Peace were laid before the Privy-Council; Good God (says his Grace, lifting up his hands) "How has
 " this poor Nation been governed in my time!
 " during the Reign of King *Charles* the Second,
 " we were governed by a parcel of *French* whores:
 In

“ In King *James* the Second's time, by a parcel
“ of *Popish* Priests : In King *William*'s time, by
“ a parcel of *Dutch* Footmen : And now we are
“ governed by a dirty Chamber-maid, a *Welsh* At-
“ torney, and a profligate Wretch, that has neither
“ honour nor honesty.

“ The War being over, a reduction of the Ar-
my was soon expected. Upon this occasion several Colonels complained that injustice had been done to their Regiments, in respect to their Ranks in the Army ; and her Majesty was pleased to order a board of General Officers to inquire into the affair, and allow every Regiment to have Rank, from the time it was raised. Our Regiment had suffered in this respect from the time that it was given against us. *Rosebeck* and we expected to have justice done us on this occasion. I was pitched upon, with the approbation of our Officers, to go over to *London*, and lay the pretensions of our Regiment before the Board. And as the Duke of *Ormond* had known it from its first establishment, and was sensible of the injustice that had been done us ; he ordered the Colonel to bring me to him, that he might write a letter by me, on that subject, to Sir *William Wyndham*, then Secretary at War. The Duke remembered me perfectly well, though he had not seen me from the time that I carried a wooden gun in his Company of boys, and was pleased to ask, why he had not seen me before. I had the honour of dining with his Grace, and after dinner, he delivered me his letter to the Secretary. Had I made my court to him, it is probable I might have raised my self by it : But according to my notion of things, he had taken the wrong cause in hand ; for which reason, I was never at his Levee before or after, for I could not act the Hypocrite.

Upon my arrival at *London*, I delivered the the Duke's letter to Sir *William*, who assured me,
he

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he would do us all the service in his power. Soon after I laid the pretensions of our Regiment before the Board of General Officers ; and was answered, that the case of our Regiment, in particular, was different from that of any other, as having been already decided in the time of the late King. For which reason they would not take upon them to make any alteration therein, until they had laid before her Majesty, the inconveniencies that must attend it ; for they alledged, that if the alteration I contended for, was made in the Army, the *Scotch* Guards would dispute their Rank with the *English* Guards. Upon this the Queen issued a second Order, wherein she declared it was her pleasure, That the Board should take cognizance of the Ranks of such Regiments only, as had been raised during her own reign ; But that all others should continue in the same Rank they had in the late King's time. This second Order hindered me effectually from proceeding any farther in that affair.

The Duke having settled the Quarters of the *British* Troops in *Ghent* and *Bruges*, left Major-General *Sabine* to command in the former, and Brigadier *Sutton* in the latter ; where they were to remain, till the Barrier in the *Netherlands* was settled. Then he returned to *England*, to give an account of his most extraordinary Campaign, for which he was highly applauded by her Majesty ; and, which is much more strange, he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, in as great form as ever the Duke of *Marlborough* had done. Such was the influence which the *Party* at this time had over the Nation.

The Soldiers, almost to a man, were highly dissatisfied, from the time that the Duke of *Ormond* had declared he was not to act against *France*, and continually disliked every thing he did. To make the matter worse, they had another real cause of complaint, which was, the extream badness of their bread.

bread. This prepared them to mutiny ; and some fly villains, finding the generality of them in this disposition, artfully insinuated, that they had a considerable arrear of pay due to them ; that the War being over, the greater part of them would soon be disbanded, and that consequently, they must expect to lose all that arrear, unless they did themselves justice while they had their arms in their hands. This took with the giddy unthinking part of the Soldiery, and a villainous and bloody design was formed. They went so far, as to appoint a time and place for rising, when they were to take possession of the Garrison, and to seize and murder such Officers as should oppose them ; then they were to set fire to the Town in several places at once, and while the inhabitants were employed in extinguishing it, they were to plunder the Town, and then every one to shift for himself. This was the design of several of the principal Mutineers, as they confessed at their execution : But the generality of them thought of nothing further, than demanding what they really thought was due to them, with their arms in their hands.

The Officers had an early account of their design, for there were several worthy men in every Regiment that heartily abhorred the thing. They were suffered however to go on, till the night before it was to be put in execution. At which time the Officers were ordered to have them all under arms, to place men they could depend on in proper places, and to watch them closely. Notwithstanding all their care, they slipped off, to the number of about 3000. These assembled at the place appointed for their rendezvous, where they barricadoed themselves on all hands. From hence they sent a menacing letter to the General, wherein they complained of the hardships they suffered by the badness of their bread, and insisted peremptorily that their arrears might be immediately paid off.

They

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They stood it resolutely for some time, though they saw four Field-pieces planted against them ; for they expected every moment, when the Soldiers would have seized their Officers : But when they saw themselves hemmed in on all sides, especially when Brigadier *Sutton* arrived from *Bruges* with the *Inniskillling* Dragoons, their hearts failed them, and they proposed to Capitulate. The General would not hear of any Capitulation, but required them to lay down their arms, and submit to his mercy. The Ringleaders declared for fighting it out, unless a general pardon was granted without any exception : But they that had been led into the scrape, seized on those that had seduced them, and threw down their arms. A Court-martial was immediately held, and ten of the Chiefs were found guilty, and executed on the spot. After the execution, the rest of the Mutineers were ordered to go for their arms, and fall into the ranks of their respective Regiments.

I must not omit the case of one *Halfbide*, a Lieutenant in our Regiment. He had been a pettyfogging Attorney in *London*, and was so used to the squables of the Town, that he loved contention in every shape. The General ordered him to be tried the next day before the same Court-martial, where it was proved that he had been at several of their private meetings, that he encouraged them greatly to the Mutiny, and gave them his advice, how they should proceed. Whereupon he was found guilty, and condemned to be shot. The General however, deferred the execution, until he laid the matter before the Duke : But the Lieutenant having some Relations of note to intercede for him, the Duke mitigated the sentence, and ordered him to be cashiered with infamy. Thus ended this dangerous Mutiny.

This winter all the *British* Troops were ordered home, except *Webb's* Regiment, and ours, who were

were to keep possession of the castle of *Ghent*, until the Barrier was thoroughly settled between the Emperor and the *States General*; the Barrier with *France* having been settled some time before.

About the end of this year, the Duke of *Hamilton* was appointed Ambassador to *France*, to compliment the *French* King on the Peace. This surprized all the honest part of the Nation, that wished well to the Protestant Succession; and plainly demonstrated what the *Party* was driving at. For the Duke had never taken the oaths to King *William*, nor even to the Queen on the Throne, till very lately, when he saw how matters were going. Then indeed he came to Court, where he was received with open arms; and upon swearing allegiance to the Queen, without any other tack to it (for he utterly refused that of the Protestant Succession, or was it insisted on), he was immediately created Duke of *Brandon* in *England*, and soon after had the order of the Garter conferred on him. His Father had been a zealous man for the Revolution, and had been the means of bringing over the Kingdom of *Scotland* to acknowledge King *William* and Queen *Mary*; when at the same time this very Gentleman (then Earl of *Arran*) was at the head of the *Jacobite* Party, and opposed both his Father and the Revolution. He had been a great promoter of King *James's* interest while he lived; and from that time to this, had continued his regards for his pretended Son; and in short had been strongly suspected to be at the bottom of all the plots that had been formed against King *William*. Yet this was the man whom the Queen and the Ministry pitched on to compliment the *French* King on this extraordinary occasion. This was so barefaced, that it made all true friends to their Country stand amazed. It was remembered also that the Queen was so much incensed against the Elector of *Hanover*, because he opposed the Peace she had made

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made, that she ordered his Troops to withdraw from the Duke of *Ormond*; and this confirmed many men in an opinion, that her Majesty was strongly attached to the Pretender's interest. However that was, an affair happened soon after, which put a stop to Duke *Hamilton's* journey.

There had been a dispute of a long standing between the Duke and the Lord *Mobun*, relating to an estate of the *Macclesfield* Family, wherein these two Gentlemen were jointly concerned; and having met to settle that affair, some warm words passed between them, which ended in a duel, wherein they both lost their lives. This was a fatal blow to the Pretender's cause, for the Duke was a bold daring man; and having so fair an opportunity to serve his Patron, it is not to be doubted, but he would have gone the utmost lengths at the Court of *France* to have him placed on the *British* Throne.

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On *Hamilton's* death, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* was appointed Ambassador to *France*. He was a man of very different principles, and was respected by both Parties. The Duke *D'Aumont* arrived at *London*, about the time that *Shrewsbury* set out for *France*. It was said that the Pretender came as one of his Retinue, to make a visit to the Queen his Sister, and that he had been admitted several times up the back-stairs, and was introduced by his good friend the Lady *Masbam*. The Duke was graciously received by the Queen, and highly caressed by the Ministry: Yet notwithstanding all his art, and all his liberality, he could not acquire the esteem of the Nobility or the People, for they did not like the errand he came upon. I shall pass over the affairs of this year, and hasten to the wonderful turn that happened the year following.

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The Queen was now visibly in a declining state of health, and it was the opinion of her Physicians that she could not live long. Whereupon the Ministry

nistry (being conscious of their guilt, and well knowing what they were to expect, if she should die before their scheme was brought to bear) set all their Engines to work in order to place the Pretender on the Throne, while she yet lived, or at least to have him at hand to step into it at her death. They knew also that the Pretender's old friend *Lewis* was in a declining way, and they judged that it might probably defeat their designs, if he should dye before they had brought him in. This made them precipitate matters, in order to bring it to a conclusion as soon as possible. In *April* there happened an affair which made a great noise, and shewed what the Party was driving at. Baron *Schultz*, Minister from the Elector of *Hanover*, had applied to the Lord Chancellour, to make out a Writ for the Electoral Prince, that he might sit in the House of Peers, as Duke of *Cambridge*. The Baron had not taken any notice of the Queen in his application; and the Ministry, in order to widen the breach between the Courts of *London* and *Hanover*, prevailed on her Majesty to resent it. Upon this the Baron was forbid the Court, and soon after returned to *Hanover*; whither also some sharp letters had been wrote in her Majesty's name, which, it was said, had such an effect on the Princess *Sophia*, that she died of an Apoplexy the day after she read them.

Thus far the Ministry had carried matters in favour of a *Popish* Pretender: But there was one great obstacle in their way; for they found that the generality of the Army were strongly attached to the Protestant Succession. In order to get over this difficulty, they began to closet the Gentlemen of the Army. Some few General Officers and Colonels had been brought over to the Party; and *Ormond* and these applied themselves severally to such as they had any influence on. To these large promises were made, provided they would come
into

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into the *Queen's measures*, and serve her Majesty faithfully. This was a Paradox and a strange sort of doctrine to the stanch Gentlemen of the Army, who had so often ventured their lives in the service of their Country, as well as of the Crown. They knew not how to separate them, and to serve the Crown exclusive of their Country, was a doctrine they could not relish.

Perhaps the truth of this matter may be doubted; but I will relate one instance only out of many that I knew to be fact, which in my judgment puts it out of all question. As I sat in *Young man's* Coffee-house, a certain Gentleman with whom I was intimately acquainted, came in, and sat down by me; he seemed to be somewhat ruffled, and I asked him what was the matter? Said he, I am just come from paying court to my Uncle (the Uncle was a Lieutenant-General, and in great vogue with the Party, and this Gentleman was a Captain in his Regiment.) He took me into his closet, added he, and told me, it was now in his power to give me a Company in the Guards, provided I promised him that I would serve the Queen faithfully, and be obedient to all her commands. I was, said he, a little startled at this, and told him, he knew I had always served my Queen and Country faithfully, and well. Sir, said the General, your Country is not what I propose: But will you serve your Queen, *without any reserve*? I replied, that I had always supposed, that in serving my Queen, my Country was at the same time included, and that I could never serve one without including the other. Then, said the General, you are to expect no further preferment; but be thankful if you keep what you have. Upon this, said he, I turned on my heel, and went off, and am much concerned to see how things are going.

These were the arguments they used to cajole, or frighten the Gentlemen of the Army. Nay, they had

had Spies in all the Coffee-houses that were frequented by Officers, to inform against such as condemned their proceedings : But all would not do, for the generality of the old Regiments stood firm; and now they found they had been guilty of an error in the method they took of reducing the Army. As they had this affair in view, they ought to have examined into every Regiment, before they broke any, then they might have known which was for their purpose, and which not, and broke accordingly : But instead of that, they broke all the younger Corps, (which indeed was but justice.) Yet had they continued them, they were much better inclined to serve them than the old ones. They found their mistake when it was almost too late to rectify it ; for to break the old Regiments, and raise new ones in their stead was a wild scheme, and must give infinite offence. However wild as it was, they had it in their thoughts, and had proceeded so far in the thing, that a List of the Regiments that were to be broke was found in the Secretary at War's Office, after the Queen's death ; and they waited only for a proper opportunity to put it in execution.

But the Ministry had another grand affair on the anvil at this time, and in it they had placed their greatest hope. The Queen when she had other notions of things than at present, had by great importunity and large promises, prevailed on the *Catalans* to declare in favour of King *Charles*, and to quit the interest of *Philip*. She had also, not long since, sent a powerful Fleet and an Army also to support them in their allegiance to *Charles* ; but now she sends a Squadron of twenty four Ships of the line, under the command of Sir *James Wisbart*, to block up those poor forlorn people in *Barcelona* by sea, in order to reduce them to the obedience of *Philip*. It is to be observed, that the Duke of *Berwick* at the head of the *French*

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and

1714. and *Spanish* Armies, was at this same time besieging *Barcelona*; and that all the *Irish* Regiments in the service of either of these Crowns, were employed in the siege.

There is evidently something very mysterious in this odd method of proceeding. Had the *Catalans* deserted the cause which her Majesty had recommended to them, she also might have deserted them; but it was quite otherwise, they were at that very instant, behaving greatly and gloriously in the very same cause. Again, was their cause a bad one, it was her Majesty that led them into it, and therefore in honour she was bound to make terms for them; and yet they were not so much as mentioned at the Treaty of *Utrecht*: But though *Barcelona* was to be blocked up by sea, pray what necessity was there that the Queen of *England* should send a Squadron to do it? It is notorious that the *French* and the *Spaniards* could have done it. Either of the besieging Powers, in short, could have done it, and therefore why should *England* thrust herself officiously into the job? This is the mystery; the truth is, it was not *Barcelona* only, or principally, that was in the case; for then it might have been done without us: But the main design of sending the *British* Squadron thither, was to bring over the Duke of *Berwick*, (the Pretender's brother) with the *Irish* Regiments, as soon as *Barcelona* was taken. This had been settled by *Bulingbroke* at the Court of *France*, when he was last there; and *Portsmouth* was the place appointed for landing them, where every thing was prepared for their reception. For General *Earl*, at this time Governour of *Portsmouth* was turned out, and the Lord *North* and *Grey* put in his place. *Earl* was known to have been ever zealous for the Revolution, and the true interest of his Country, and could not be prevailed on to come into the Queen's measures: Whereas *North* and *Grey* was always a Pretender's man,
and

and afterward in the reign of King George the first was committed to the Tower, for being concerned in a plot to bring in his friend the *Chevalier*. However he got over that affair, but not thinking himself safe in *England*, he went over to *Brussels*, and there turned *Papist*. Sir John Gibson was Lieutenant-Governour, and every one knew how he was inclined. This change shewed their intention very plainly, and lest any thing should be wanting on their arrival, there were upwards of thirty Ships of the line in the harbour, ready to join Sir James, in order to guard the Coast against the *Dutch*. There was also a Train of twenty Field pieces, mounted on new carriages, and drawn up in great order before the Governour's door, with every thing ready for a March. There were likewise a great number of small arms laid up in the stores; and that they might not meet with resistance, there were but 200 soldiers of the *Scotch* Guards to garison this place; and both Officers and Soldiers to a man drank the Pretender's health every day, by the Title of King James the third.

This affair relating to *Portsmouth* is certainly matter of fact. I heard it some years after, when our Regiment quartered there, from the most noted Gentlemen of the Town, who were eye-witnesses of the thing, and were well assured that the preparations were made entirely for the purpose abovementioned.

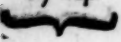
And indeed when every thing is rightly considered, the thing speaks itself; for their turning out General *Earl* at this time, and putting the Lord *North and Grey* in his place, was a very bad symptom. And then, pray what occasion was there for a field Train at *Portsmouth*? It is plain to a demonstration, that it could be for no other use, but to be in readiness to march with a body of Troops, which was expected to land there. And again, why should this important Place be garisoned by 200 men only, and these disaffected?

1714. And why should the Works be suffered to run to ruin? (for Carts and Waggon's might drive over them)? In short, why all these preparations, why these changes at *Portsmouth*, unless the Ministry had some grand design in view, which was to be executed there? And indeed, nothing could have answered their purposes better, had not the brave *Catalans* held out *Barcelona*, beyond the expectation of all men. It was this that disappointed our Ministry, and as they perceived plainly, that her Majesty grew worse and worse every day, they became quite distracted, and knew not what course to take. At this time they had thoughts again of breaking the old Regiments and raising new ones, and for that purpose had dispatched the Earl of *Anglesey* for *Ireland*, to model the Army of that Kingdom in conjunction with Sir *Constantine Phips*, then Lord Chancellor. In the end the Ministry being reduced to this distracted condition, began to quarrel among themselves, insomuch that *Oxford* and *Bulinbroke* gave each other scurrilous language in the presence of her Majesty, which threw her into Fits.

Here I shall take leave of her Majesty and her Ministry for a while, in order to pay a visit to the Duke of *Marlborough*, whom I left on his tour in *Germany*. Some time before this, application had been made to his Grace by the *States-General*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and some other *German* Princes. These saw plainly that the measures of the *British* Court were all in favour of the Pretender, and they desired him to fix himself in some convenient situation near the sea-coast, in order to be at hand to pass into *England*, when occasion should require. With this view he removed his residence to *Antwerp*, where he arrived in the beginning of *June*, and there he lived in a private manner for about six weeks. He had been better pleased to reside in *Holland*; but as that might
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give a handle to his enemies, to suspect that there was some secret negotiation on foot between him and the *States*, he declined it. From *Antwerp* he carried on a secret correspondence with the *States*, wherein a scheme was formed to counterplot the designs of the Ministry. They found by their accounts from *England*, that the generality of the Army kept stanch to the *Protestant Succession*; and were well assured that though the Pretender should be trumped up, yet the Army would flock to the Duke of *Marlborough* as soon as he should appear. It was also further agreed, that if there was occasion, the *States-General* were to support him with their Fleet and Army. And now things being brought to a Crisis, it was judged necessary by the friends of the house of *Hanover*, that the Duke should repair to *England*. These things were agreed on between the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, the *States-General*, the friends of the house of *Hanover* in *England*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*; the two former having their Troops in readiness to march to the assistance of the *States* in case of need.

Accordingly my Lord *Marlborough* set out from *Antwerp* on the 26th of *July*, O. S. and lest our Ministry should take umbrage at it, if he went by the way of *Holland*, he chose rather to go by the way of *Ghent*. *Webb's* Regiment and ours still continued in the castle of *Ghent*, and on hearing that the Duke was to pass that way, all the Officers of both Regiments went without *Antwerp* port, and drew up in two lines to pay him our compliments, and shew the respect we still retained for his Grace. He and his Dutchess came up to us on horse-back; they stooped, and talked to us of indifferent matters about half an hour, then seeming very well pleased with the compliment we had paid them, they returned us thanks, and proceeded directly through *Ghent* to *Ostend*. There he was entertained

1714.  tertained during his stay, (which was three days) by the Governour Major-General *Caris*, by order of the *States-General*; and then the wind coming fair, he embarked on board the *Ostend* packet-boat on the first of *August*, and landed next day at *Dover*. About an hour after his landing, an account came of the Queen's death, whereupon he proceeded directly for *London*, and as he passed through the City, was received with as much joy as when he returned from his greatest victories. Here he found that the Elector of *Hanover* had been proclaimed, and that the Ministry was discharged.

I am more particular than ordinary in my account of the Duke of *Marlborough's* return to *England*, because his enemies were base enough to assert, that he came over at that critical juncture, in order to assist the Ministry in setting the Pretender on the Throne. It implies indeed that the Ministry had such a design, though they and all the Party deny it to this day; but that a man of the Duke's wisdom and spirit should concur in it, is utterly incredible, and meant only to blacken him. Had he not abandoned his pretended father? Had he not always adhered steadily to the Protestant Succession in the house of *Hanover*? Had he ever shewed any thing like a meanness of spirit? And can it be believed that he would condescend to truckle to those very men, that had used him so basely, because they knew he would not come into their measures? Yet all this was said of him; believe it who can. But to return.

Her Majesty, as I have said, had been thrown into violent fits, by some very warm and indecent language that had passed between *Oxford* and *Bulinbroke* in her presence; for the latter had charged the other with betraying the Queen's secrets to the Court of *Hanover*, and from thence words rose to a great height. The Queen was highly disgusted at them both, but more particularly at *Oxford*, and
ordered

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ordered the Treasurere Staff to be immediately taken from him. *Bulinbroke* expected it would have been put into his hands directly ; but that was not the Queen's intention. This sudden removal occasioned such divisions and confusion at Court, and perplexed the Queen so greatly, that she declared to those about her, she should never outlive it. She first offered the Treasurer's Staff to the Duke of *Sbrensbury*, and pressed him earnestly to accept of it, but he seeing what confusion both the Court and Nation were in, declined it. She then offered it to the Earl of *Nottingham*, but he also declined it for the same reasons. At length, much against her will, she gave it to *Bulinbroke*, but he did not enjoy it long ; for the Queen was in such perplexity and tribulation of mind, that in three days after the quarrel she died, and left her Kingdoms in great confusion. How glorious a figure might she have made in History, had she continued the same wise and faithful Ministry with which she set out ! And how infinitely fatal have been the consequences of that inconsiderate change, not to *England* only, but to *Europe* ; not to the age then in being only, but to this also, and how much farther the effects of it may reach, God only knows !

The Cabinet Council was sitting when the Queen died. They were all of the *Party*, and knew not what course to take. At length the account of her death spread through the City ; upon which the Duke of *Somerſet*, and some other Lords of the Council (that had not been summoned of late) hastened to the Council-Chamber. They were at first refused admittance, but at last with difficulty the doors were opened ; when the Duke in a resolute manner, demanded the reason, why the Queen's death was not made known to all the Privy-Counsellors in Town ? Upon this they were all summoned ; at the same time the Elector of *Hanover's* instruments were produced, whereby he appointed

1714. a Regency, and his Highness was proclaimed the very same day.

The first care of the Regency was to secure the quiet and peace of the Nation, in order to which they immediately displaced the Lord *North* and *Grey*, and appointed General *Earl* to reassume his Government, giving him orders to repair thither forthwith. At the same time they gave orders, that all the half-pay Officers about town should draw together all the out-pensioners of *Chelsea*, and march with them immediately to *Portsmouth*, to relieve the *Scotch* Gentry there, who were ordered to their Regiment. These out-pensioners compleated two Regiments of brave old fellows. The Regency also ordered the Fleet to be got ready with all the dispatch imaginable, and to put to sea under the command of the Earl of *Berkley*, and they dispatched two Expresses, one by land, the other by sea, to Sir *James Wisbart*, with positive orders to quit *Barcelona*, and make the best of his way home. All these precautions plainly shew that the Regency was under apprehensions for *Portsmouth*; and it is most certain, that was it not for the brave defence the *Catalans* made at *Barcelona*, (for they still held it out) the Duke of *Berwick* with his *Irish* Regiments, would have landed among us before the Queen's death; and then what a scene of blood must have followed. Surely the hand of Providence appeared visibly at that very critical juncture, in favour of the Religion, the Laws, and Liberty of *England*.

Notwithstanding these disappointments, the Party still persisted in their designs. *Bullingbroke*, who was now at the head of them, fled to *France*, and applied to *Lewis XIV*; who, old as he was, gave him strong assurances of a powerful assistance; and in fact he did send a great number of arms into *Scotland*, with a suitable quantity of ammunition. And
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now the *Jacobite* Mobs were spirited up throughout the Nation, and were more in number than ever was known. These, out of their great zeal for the Church, pulled down all the Meeting-houses that came in their way, and did considerable mischief in most parts of the Kingdom.

By this time the King arrived among us, to the great joy of the better, if not the greater, part of the Nation. He was a Prince of great wisdom and probity, and of a steady and firm resolution; and surely the *British* Dominions never wanted such a one more: The Nation being in a most violent ferment between the two Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*; or to speak more properly, between those that were for the *Protestant Succession*, and such as meant a *Popish Pretender*.

One of the first things the King did, was to restore the Duke of *Marlborough* to his post of Captain-General, and to all his former honours; giving him authority to quarter all the Troops in *England* as he should think fit. Now the King was allowed to be a man of great penetration, and had never granted him so ample a commission had he suspected him in the least of being in an opposite interest.

Soon after the Coronation, Writs were issued for calling a new Parliament; and now the late Ministry knowing that they must be called to an account for what they had done, had several consultations how to ward off the blow. They sent to all their friends in the country to use their interest at Elections, and failing generally in these, they stirred up their *Jacobite* Mobs, who committed outrages in several places.

When the Parliament met, it was soon agreed to call the late Ministry to an account, and a secret Committee was appointed to examine into the conduct of the leading men of them. Upon this the Duke of *Ormond* retired to his country-seat at *Richmond*,

1714. *Richmond*, very much disturbed, and under great apprehensions; for now he found he was accountable to the Nation for his conduct, and not to his Queen only. The King however, was inclined to pardon him (and indeed he was the only man of the Party that was pitied by every one). With this view he sent the Duke of *Devonshire* to him, to let him know, that if he came and made his submission, a stop should be put to any further inquiry into his affair. The Duke seemed very well pleased, and ordered his coach to be got ready: But his evil genius sent Doctor *Atterbury* Bishop of *Rockester* to him, who coming in at that very instant, dissuaded him from waiting on his Majesty. He took him aside, and pressed him earnestly not to desert the cause, assuring him that every thing was in great forwardness, and that affairs would soon take a new turn. In the end the Duke of *Devonshire* was obliged to return to the King without him; having great compassion for the weak unfortunate Duke, and highly astonished at the insolence of the Prelate. The day following *Ormond* made for the coast of *Dorsetshire*, and sailed from thence for *Spain*. Since that time he has continued a wanderer and a refugee in foreign countries. He has also made some fruitless attempts in favour of the Party, which made it not probable that he will ever be permitted to return. As for *Atterbury*, his character and his fate are too well known already.

Some copies of the Pretender's Declaration came over about this time, by the *French* mail. These were directed to several of the Nobility and others, and in them he asserted his right to the Crown. Some of these were laid before the Secretaries, and many of them were dispersed among those of the Party. This fired their zeal, and prepared them for rebellion: But as *Bullingbroke* had not finished his

his negotiations at the court of *France*, matters lay dormant this year. 1714.

The Lord *Oxford* stood his ground. He came poor into the Ministry, and his principal aim was to make a broken fortune. The Church, the Pretender, or his Country, were neither of them very near his heart; he wanted to be rich at any rate. *Bullingbroke* also wanted money, though he spent it as fast as it came in; and if he could be true to any thing, it was to the Pretender's cause. The *French* King having found out their distemper, supplied them both abundantly; and without doubt the good Lady *Masham* did not want her proportion; and by these three wretches the Nation and our Allies were sold to *France*. *Oxford* having gained his point by making a fortune, turned cat-in-pan, and in order to secure it, very craftily kept a secret correspondence with the Court of *Hanover*; and this might probably have retarded the proceedings of the *Party*. However, the Parliament impeached him, and to the Tower he was sent, where he remained near two years before he was brought to a tryal. Every one expected he must lose his head: But to the surprize of all men, after two or three hearings the affair insensibly dropt, and he was set at liberty.

This year the *Party* having thrown off the mask, appeared in their true colours. The Earl of *Mar* had been Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and expected to be called to an account for what he had done in favour of the Pretender. *Bullingbroke* had made him large promises in the name of the *French* King; and the disaffected in *England* had given him considerable encouragement. Lieutenant-General *George Hamilton* joined *Mar*, and in the habit of private men they took shipping in the *Thames*, attended by two servants only. *Hamilton* was reputed a brave and good Officer; he had commanded the *Scotch* Troops in the *Dutch* service; 1715.

1715. vice ; but had been dismissed by the *States General*, because he had done ill offices between them and the late Ministry. He joined *Mar* in promoting a Rebellion. When they arrived at the Earl's seat in *Scotland*, he convened the leading men of the Party, and made a warm speech to them, exhorting them to take up arms in favour of their lawful King *James VIII.* He told them that he had already a considerable supply of arms and ammunition from *France*, which were ready to be distributed among them, and that they were soon to have a more powerful assistance from thence. He shewed them some of the Pretender's letters to him, assuring him of this and much more ; and in the end, produced his commission, whereby he nominated him the Earl of *Mar*, General and Commander in chief of his forces in *Scotland*, &c. The Gentlemen shewed a ready zeal for their King's service ; and in a short time they assembled to the number of about 6000, at *Aberdeen*, where they set up the Pretender's standard, and proclaimed him in form. They did the same at *Perth*, at *Dundee*, and several other places. This was the first publick appearance in arms in favour of the Pretender.

Soon after Mr. *Forster*, who had also a commission from the Pretender as General, appeared in arms in the North of *England* ; and with him the Earl of *Derwentwater*, and a number of Rabble. These proclaimed the Pretender in several places, and were joined by the Lord *Widderington*, Major-General *Mackintosh*, and others from *Scotland*. At the same time also there was to have been a rising in the West, at *Bristol*, *Bath*, *Oxford*, in *Lancashire* and several other places.

The Government had early notice of their designs, and had taken the proper precautions ; for the Duke of *Marlborough* had made such a disposition of the Troops in *England*, that in forty-eight hours

1715.

hours, two or three thousand of them might be drawn together to any part of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Argyle*, who was a man of interest in *Scotland*, was sent thither to command the Troops of that Kingdom. He had engaged to raise five or six thousand Highlanders in *Argyleshire*, and the parts adjacent, and had received large sums for that purpose : But half that number never came into the field.

Soon after the rising of *Mar* and *Forster*, we had an account that *Lewis XIV.* of *France* was dead. This was a fatal blow to the Pretender's cause : However, their case was now become desperate, and they were resolved to push on at all hazards. The Duke of *Orleans* was Regent during the minority of the young King, and they expected that he might probably fulfil the engagements of the late King to them.

When the Duke of *A——le* arrived in *Scotland*, there were near 4000 regular Troops in that Kingdom ; and he having raised about 1000 Highlanders, drew them all together, and they incamped at *Sterling*. *Mar* at the same time had about 10,000 men at *Pertb*. His design was to march into *England*, in order to join *Forster* ; and with this view he endeavoured to pass on one side of the Duke. His Grace perceiving it, marched from *Sterling*, and came up with him near *Dumblain*. On which occasion the memorable Battle, which takes its name from that place, was fought. I think it cannot be better described than in the burden of the *Scotch* ballad, which was wrote on that occasion.

*They ran, and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa, Sir.*

In short, it was a very odd fought Battle ; for our General, without observing the situation of the
Enemy

1715. Enemy on their right, ordered the Foot of his Left wing to face to the right, and close the Right wing, (which should have been done before the Enemy advanced so near him). At which time our General, at the head of his Right wing of Horse, charged the Left wing of the Enemy, and soon put them to the rout; and pursued them upwards of two miles with great fury; not considering how matters went with the rest of the Army; for *Hamilton*, who commanded the Right wing of the Enemy, observing the disorder of our men, occasioned by their facing to the right, ordered his Highlanders, with their broad Swords and Targets, to rush in among them, which they did with such fury, that they made a great slaughter, put them to the rout, and pursued them a considerable way toward *Sterling*. During this time, Major General *Wightman*, who commanded the Foot of our Right, and the Earl of *Mar* who commanded in their Center, stood looking at each other, being amazed at what passed on their Wings: Till at length our General returned Conqueror, as did also General *Hamilton*; and so they made a drawn Battle of it, both sides claiming the Victory, which indeed both had a right to. *Mar* retired to *Perth*, and the Duke of *A——le* to *Sterling*. The Battle however, had this good effect, that it prevented *Mar* from marching into *England*, though the other gained but little honour by it.

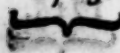
Upon *Forster's* rising, Lieutenant General *Carpenter*, who had been ordered to that part of the Country, drew together one Regiment of Horse and two of Dragoons, and marched with them toward the Rebels. This put them into some consternation; whereupon it was debated, whether they should stand their ground, and fight *Carpenter*, or march off. *Mackintosh*, who had served abroad, declared for fighting, as they were superior in number: But *Forster* their General, who thought to carry

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carry all before him without coming to blows, was against it; for he alledged, that if they marched into *Lancashire*, they should be greatly reinforced, and that the whole Country would declare for them. *Forster's* opinion prevailed, and thereupon they marched through several Market-towns, proclaiming the Pretender where-ever they came. General *Carpenter* made all the haste he could after them, but they still out-marched him. At length they came to *Lancaster*, where they were joined by about 1500 of the common sort, and from thence they marched to *Preston*. Here they heard that Major-General *Wills*, with a body of Horse and Dragoons, was on the march toward them; and being now at a stand, and not knowing whither to fly, they barricaded all the Avenues leading to the Town. Here General *Wills* came up with them. *Mackintosh* and some others were for marching out to fight *Wills*, before *Carpenter* joined him: But *Forster* could not be prevailed upon to fight. Next morning *Carpenter* came up, and then they desired to capitulate: But no Capitulation was to be allowed them. Upon this they submitted to the King's mercy, and were in number upwards of 3000; among them were several Noblemen both of *England* and *Scotland*.

This affair happened on the 13th of *November*; and as it was on the same day that *Mar* was repulsed in *Scotland*, it struck such a damp on the whole party in *England*, that it put a stop to numbers that were ready to rise; for the Ministry had diffused the poison through the whole Nation, inso-much that the spirit of Rebellion was almost universal.

The Duke of *Ormond* expecting to find *Cornwal*, and all the Western Counties in arms, arrived at this time on the coast, and landed in *Dorsetshire*. He lay one Night only at a certain Gentleman's house, who let him know what had happened to their

1715.  their friends at *Preston* and *Dumblain*. This terrified those of the Party thereabouts, so that not a man stirred; and the Duke, early next morning, went on board, and made the best of his way to *Spain*.

The rising at *Bristol* was to have been headed by Sir *William Windham*, the late Secretary at War. He had caused a great number of arms, and much ammunition to be laid up in that City for the purpose: But this being discovered very seasonably, both he and the arms were seized. There was proof against him enough to have taken off his head: But on the intercession of the Duke of *Somerset*, whose daughter he had married, he was pardoned without being brought to a Tryal. Is it not strange, that in return for so much clemency, that Gentleman has ever opposed the measures of the Court, and glories in being the principal Speecher in the House of Commons, in favour of a certain Cause?

Many people in *Oxford*, were deeply concerned in this Rebellion, and had pitched upon certain disaffected Officers to head them. Among them was one Captain *Owens*, a vile impudent fellow, who in the late Queen's time, used frequently to ridicule the King and Royal Family in the publick Coffee-houses. Such were the Leaders of that famous University, which waited only for the rising at *Bristol* and *Bath*: But Major-General *Pepper*, at the head of two Regiments of Dragoons, entering the Town at break of day, kept all quiet. Their Officers slipped off in disguise, leaving several fine horses and furniture behind them. These were seized by the Dragoons; and as no one claimed them, they were prevailed on to keep them. *Pepper* continued here four days with the Dragoons, at which time he was relieved by *Handaside* with his Regiment of Foot. In short, the good intelligence which the Court had from all parts, and the disposition which the Duke of *Marlborough* made of the
the

the few Troops that were then in the Kingdom, put an effectual stop to all further risings in *England*.

Soon after these things, the Pretender landed in *Scotland*, whither he came in a small *French* fishing Boat, without men or arms, and with very little money. On his arrival he entered *Dundee* on horseback, attended by several Gentlemen; General *Mar* being on his right hand, and the *Earl Maréchal* on his Left. In a few days after, he made his publick Entry at *Pertb*, with a much greater crowd. Here he published his Declaration, appointed his Council, issued Proclamations for a general Thanksgiving, for obliging all men from sixteen to sixty to repair to his Standard, and for appointing a day for his Coronation. The Ladies shewed their zeal and affection for the cause on this occasion; for as there had been no Crown in *Scotland* since the *Union*, they generously contributed their Rings and Jewels toward making one. The Coronation however was put off until he should arrive in *London*, for the following reason. Doctor *Lessly* his Chaplain told him, he must swear to preserve the Church of *England*, as by Law established; to which he answered very frankly, that his conscience would not suffer him to take such an oath: But he would give his *royal Word* for it. A rare man this to be *Head* of the *Church of England*. And yet this is the man, for whom the *Highb-Church* party contend so zealously.

The Troops which the *States of Holland* were obliged to furnish *England* with on any emergency, had by this time arrived at *Edinburgh*; and General *Cadogan*, an experienced good Officer, had been ordered thither by his Majesty, to assist the Duke of *Argyle*. They both marched directly, though in the midst of winter toward *Pertb*; upon which the Enemy retired to *Aberdeen*, and from thence the Pretender, *Mar*, the Earls *Maréchal*,
P Melford,

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Melford, Lord *Drummond*, and about a dozen more of their Chiefs, slipped off privately in the afternoon to the Water-side, where Boats were waiting for them. Here he went on board the same Ship that brought him, and landed soon after at *Gravelin*. The Chiefs having made their escape, their followers were obliged to disperse and shift for themselves; and this put an end to the Rebellion.

Here it must be noted, and allowed by all men, that under the immediate hand of Heaven, it was the Army that preserved the constitution; and even after the Rebellion was quashed, it is plain that was it not for them, the two contending Parties of *Whig* and *Tory* (or high Church and low Church, or more properly speaking, they that were for the *Protestant Succession*, and they that meant a *Popish Pretender*), would have cut one anothers throats; and that it was the Army kept them quiet in spite of themselves.

From this account of our affairs, I presume it is evident, that the leading men of the late Ministry were intirely bent on bringing in the Pretender; and yet that Party has the assurance to assert the contrary to this day. But Providence interfered visibly to baffle their designs, first in taking off the Queen before matters had been brought to a Crisis. *Lewis XIV.* was then the sheet-anchor of the Party: But he had fulfilled the measure of his iniquity, and in like manner was cut off at a very critical season. Their next dependence was on the Duke of *Orleans* Regent of *France*: But he also failed them, for it was his interest to secure the friendship of his Majesty King *George*. As the Duke of *Anjou* had publickly renounced all his right to the Crown of *France*, on his being settled on the *Spanish* Throne, the Duke of *Orleans* became presumptive heir to that Crown: But he well knew that the house of *Bourbon* was never tied by

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by their engagements, and he saw evidently that there was a Party already forming against him in *France*, in favour of the Duke of *Anjou* (now King of *Spain*) on the prospect of the young King's dying, who was of a weakly constitution. Hereupon *Orleans* very wisely concludes an alliance offensive and defensive with the King of *England*, against all Pretenders to either of their Crowns. This effectually put a stop to all their hopes from that quarter; for the Pretender and all his adherents were immediately ordered to quit the *French* Dominions; and being invited by the Pope, he has lived ever since under his Holiness's wing, and continues to this day, as great a Bigot at least as ever his pretended father was; for the father in King *Charles's* time frequently went to Church with his brother: But it is notorious that this Gentleman when in *Scotland*, utterly refused to be present at the service of the Church of *England*, though it was so necessary to his interest, and he had been importuned to it, by the Episcopal Clergy and Laity of *Aberdeen*. Yet this is the man, whom some zealots among us would willingly declare Head of the Church of *England*; and are wild enough to imagine it in less danger under him, than under the Protestant Prince on the Throne.

In this manner had the Party been baffled and disappointed in all their expectations; yet did they make one push more. *Charles* the 12th of *Sweden*, that unfortunate Desperado, was piqued at our King; him therefore they apply to, and he was rash enough to undertake their Cause, or any other. He promised to come at the head of his Army, and place the Pretender on the *British* Throne; and it is probable he might have made some desperate attempt, had he not met with his fate in *Norway*. Since that time they have continued tolerably quiet, and have been happy, whether they will or no, under the Government of that August

1715. Family, whom yet they have ever ungratefully opposed.

Upon *Mar's* rising in *Scotland*, *Webb's* Regiment was ordered for *England*, and arrived in *Scotland* time enough to come in for their share of the battle of *Dumblain*, where they suffered greatly. Soon after the greatest part of our Regiment embarked at *Ostend*, and sailed for *England*, leaving our Lieutenant-Colonel with 100 men to guard the Castle of *Ghent*, until the Barrier was thoroughly settled. We landed at *Greenwich*, and marched from thence to *Glocester*. This City had been as free from Party, as any in *England*: But now we found it all in confusion, one Party crying out, High Church and *Ormond* for ever: Down with the Round-heads. The other, no Popish Pretender: No wooden shoes: *Hanover* for ever. The Mob on either side was headed by the considerable men of their respective Parties; and things rose to such a pitch, that the Civil Magistrate could not quell them. In the end, the Army was obliged to interpose; and it was they that preserved the peace of the Nation; for this same frenzy prevailed throughout the Kingdom.

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By this time our Regiment was joined by the Detachment we left in the Castle of *Ghent*. In the month of *April*, we marched to relieve *Handside's* Regiment at *Oxford*, where we quartered all this year. It surprized me much to see many of the Youth of this famous University poisoned in their Principles. There were indeed some worthy and well affected Gentlemen among them: But they were very few, not above one in ten. When we first came to these Quarters, the Students of the disaffected Party, watched their opportunity, and when it grew dark, used to fall upon the Soldiers, and beat them unmercifully. Upon this they had orders to leave their swords and bayonets in their quarters,

quarters, every man to provide himself a good cudgel, to walk the streets, not less than four or five in a company, especially at night, and in case they were assaulted, to defend themselves. This soon made that matter easy, and the Scholars were never before known to keep so close to their Colleges.

An affair happened soon after, which made a great noise. The King at this time went to visit his *German* Dominions, leaving the Prince of *Wales* Regent. On the Prince's birth-day, our Lieutenant-Colonel ordered the Regiment to draw up in the main street to fire, as is usual on such occasions : But as we were performing our firings, several stones were thrown in among us, which hurt our men. However, as we could not see from whence they came, we marched off without giving the least offence. In the evening we repaired to the Star-Inn, where we had ordered a supper to be prepared for us ; and had invited the Marquis of *Hartington* (son to the Duke of *Devonshire*) and five other loyal Students to drink the Prince's health. When our bone-fire was lighted, our windows illuminated, and we were seated, in comes a shower of stones among us, we could not tell from whence. Upon this we sent for a party of Soldiers to guard us, who soon discovered that the stones came from the leds of the house opposite us ; so without waiting for orders from us, to work they went, and broke every window in it. The rest of the Soldiers hearing that their Officers were insulted, run down to us, and without any order from us, broke every window that was not illuminated. After them came the opposite Party, and broke every window that was illuminated. In short, between them both, hardly a house escaped ; the damage was computed at 500, *l*.

This brought the Vice-Chancellor, the Mayor, and several heads of Colleges down to us, who demanded to know how we dare be so audacious

1716. as to insult the University in the manner we had done? We represented the matter to them fairly as it was, and desired to know whether our celebrating the Prince Regent's birth-day, was what gave them offence. We shewed them plainly that it was we, and not they, that had been insulted, but it availed nothing. They told us after a very haughty manner, that nothing less than breaking the Regiment should atone for the night's work, and then went off. The affair became serious, for a complaint was made to the Privy-Council: But they not caring to determine it, at length both Parties were heard by Council at the Bar of the House of Lords, who gave it in favour of the Regiment, and reprimanded the Vice-Chancellor for not shewing some regard to his Royal Highness's birth-day. And the House ordered the whole affair to be published, in order to stop the mouths of the Party.

The Court was not at all displeased at the decision of the House of Lords, for two reasons. The first was, because on the Duke of *Ormond's* flying, the University had chose the Earl of *Arran* their Chancellor in opposition to the Prince of *Wales*; and then, because the University had not to that day addressed the King on his Accession to the Throne.

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In *November* following the Nation being in peace both at home and abroad, the Army was reduced to it's lowest Stint. Several intire Regiments were broke, and also three Companies of those that stood. His Majesty was pleased at this time to grant liberty to all Officers to dispose of their Commissions to the best advantage, if they could make it appear, that they had been twenty years in the service. As I had spent my youth in the service of my Country, and had also a family to take care of, I thought it adviseable to lay hold of this opportunity; and accordingly in *April* 1718, I resigned my Commission to a Nephew of my

my very good friend and benefactor, Lieutenant-General *Frederick Hamilton*, he paying me a valuable consideration for it. 1717.

I soon after set out for *Bristol*, where I embarked, and having a very fine passage, arrived at *Cork*, near which I propose to fix for the remaining part of my life. Here I chuse to retire from the noise and hurry of life, which I have been so long engaged in; though had I continued in the Army, I might have expected promotion equal with those, whom I was then on a level with. But however that may have been, I could not have arrived at any preferment, which would have afforded me that true satisfaction and content, which I enjoy in my retirement; not envying any, and (as I believe) not envied by any. Here I have an opportunity of making an atonement for the follies of Youth, and of exercising my mind with a thankful remembrance of the wonderful Mercies of PROVIDENCE.

F I N I S.